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THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE PURCHAS JUDGMENT.

There is an unusual flutter in the ecclesiastical dove-cot. The decision of the Judicial Committee in the case of Hibbert *v.* Purchas, read, in part, by the Lord Chancellor, and, in part, by the Archbishop of York, has inflicted upon Ritualism in the Church of England "a heavy blow, and sore discouragement." It has done more incidentally. It has done something to disturb the equanimity of both Low Church and Broad Church. If the Ritualists have lost their albs and tunicles and chasubles, and are condemned, at every celebration of the Holy Communion, to be content with a white surplice only—if their celebrating priests are prevented from turning their backs upon their congregations in the act of consecrating the elements—if they may no longer use wine mingled with water, and wafers instead of ordinary bread—if, in fact, the elaborate symbolism which they have thrown around the Eucharist, devised, no doubt, with a view to interpose the efficacy of priestly mediation between the Almighty Father and the children of His care—the Evangelicals and the Broad Church have had imposed upon them the use of the Cope in the celebration on High feast days of the Sacrament, in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, and of the white surplice in all other ministrations, and consequently, in the preaching of the Word. In nearly every particular the judgment has gone against the Ritualist party, and that close approximation of the Church of England service, in regard to rites by which it was fast bringing back a so-called National Church to the Church of Rome, has been declared by the interpretation of the law to be illegal.

Given an Established Church shaped as ours has been by historical events and influences, and we cannot well see how the judgment of the highest Court of Appeal could have been other than it is. It corresponds with the less learned, but not less sober, judgment of the great body of the people. If after all, a usage unbroken for more than a hundred and fifty years—a usage, moreover, observed by the very men who prescribed it, can be deliberately set aside by a reference to supposed obscurities in the words of the Rubric, so far as to let in all those Ritualistic practices which it was meant to sweep away, and did actually sweep away, there remains no conceivable security for that uniformity of Divine worship in the Church of England which it was one of the main objects of its establishment to secure. The comprehension theory to which the Gorham judgment first gave the semblance of a legal sanction, might be pushed to any extent. Probably, if public opinion had but accepted it, it would have been pushed to the extent of obliterating all legal provisions from the Statute-book of the Realm, for unity of doctrine and discipline, and national resources would have been applied to the maintenance of religious teaching in conformity with the private convictions of each individual teacher. The sound sense of the English people repudiated this theory. Liberty of conscience and liberty of teaching it would give to every man who chooses to go forth to the warfare against ignorance and sin "at his own charges," or at the charges of those who sympathise with his views and are anxious to profit by them themselves or extend them to others. But the application of national funds to the maintenance of a clergy irresponsible to their fellow-men in regard to the doctrines they teach, or the discipline they observe, and, consequently, to the support of views and practices essentially contradictory one of another, is justly regarded as wasteful, superfluous, irrational, and irreligious. To hold together almost every variety of jarring sects by the single bond of union furnished by public support and legal status, so utterly eliminates the true idea of a Church, that the vast majority of men who accept that idea are unwilling to surrender it for such "a mess of potage."

One cannot but be forcibly struck by the tendency which this suit reveals of Ecclesiastical exclusiveness, no matter in what special circumstances it may have originated, to exalt things indifferent into a position of superior importance over the greater things which constitute the substance and vitality of faith. One cannot but feel deep humiliation in the contemplation of the objects in dispute in the case just decided. They take us back to the childishness, the grotesqueness, and the semi-barbarities of mediæval times. They show us how much more intent many of the clergy have been upon studying their own sacerdotal pretensions, than the broad, vital, and vitalising truths which constitute the substance of the Christian faith. Albs and tunicles, chasubles, copes, and birettas, postures and positions, and the like—these are the main subjects which one large school of divines in the Church of England has been studying, and fixing their hearts upon, for many years past. The things themselves, no doubt, are regarded by the best of these divines as trifling in themselves. But every one of them is intended to represent some claim of those who use them to exercise a mysterious power with God in behalf of the people. All of them are parts of a system, the end of which is to place the religious interests and freedom of the unofficial members of the Church under the supreme dominion of the ministering clergy. We do not assail the conscientiousness of the motives by which the latter profess to be guided, but we are so deeply impressed with the spiritual degradation and mischief which inevitably come out of the prevalence of this sacerdotal system, that we cannot profess to regret a decision by which the authority of the nation to uphold it is refused. So long as the Establishment remains as such, we trust it may adhere to the broad principles and doctrines of the Reformation. If it cannot lead us forward into more light and liberty, nor, in consequence of its own constitution, fully satisfy the demands of private judgment, at any rate it is some consolation to know that it is prohibited from leading us back into ecclesiastical darkness and slavery.

Those persons who fancy that disruption will be the shortest way to disestablishment, will probably gain some new views from the mode in which this judgment has been received by the Ritualist party. Disruption seems to be the last thing thought of. The *Church Times*, referring to their Lordships' decision, says:—"We cannot but regard the whole business as a plot to drive the Catholic party out of the Church of England. We may at once state, therefore, that the Catholic party sees the game of its foes too clearly to play into their hands. We shall not go; and if the results of this last scheme should be more unpleasant to the Bishops and the Church Association than anything that has yet happened, they have only themselves to thank for it." No, they will not go. They are as anxious to retain the status given to them by the Church Establishment as the Low-Church party were under the judgment of the same Court in the case of "Essays and Reviews." Neither of the contending schools will think of resigning to the others the privileges conferred upon them by the authority of the State. A large secession of the clergy from a position of legal privilege to one of natural freedom, is about the last event which we expect to see.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

We are getting on. We had the second reading of the University Tests Bill this Session without a division, while there have been times when the second reading could not be passed at all. The Bill has passed through Committee, too, as a valuable Bill, albeit not exactly all that we should like. Last Thursday it came on for a third reading. It is only some three or four years since the measure was lost by a majority of one in the final vote of the third reading. Then, the only opponents were to be found on the Conservative benches; but now, the sole opposition arose from the Liberal members who sit below the gangway. However, the explanation that came was, to some extent, satisfactory. Mr. Gladstone toned down, and gave good reasons—good apart from party considerations—why it was better to let the Church Fellowships stand over for a time. Mr. Hardy also, wisely enough, did not choose to divide the House, but hinted at proper securities for religious teaching in such a way as to intimate that, if the amendments which Lord Salisbury may choose to introduce into the Bill should not be accepted, he "should be prepared to resist it." Well, and what if he should be? We imagine that such a Bill can be carried in spite of both Mr. Disraeli—who, in his heart, must believe in it—and of Mr. Hardy. If the Lords should again choose to stand in the way, why, let them! *We* have nothing ultimately to lose. Indeed, in the long run, we shall probably be all the better for another illustration of the naturally obstructive policy of the Upper House.

When Roman Catholicism alone is in question, their Lordships will just now be found to be submissive enough. Carried away as they were by the ignorant and insane passion which animated nearly all classes of the population in 1851, they will now probably undo their own work without even a division. Then, everybody was afraid of the Pope,

and the men who have no confidence in Christianity, without it be supported by physical force, had no confidence in Protestantism, and especially in Protestant bishops, unless a law could be passed against their Roman Catholic rivals. What could be done in opposition to the weakness of the nation, displayed at that time, was done in this journal, but the Ecclesiastical Titles Act passed—and no Home Secretary has ever yet had the courage to put it in execution. The thing has been a sham. Born of ignorance and passion, it died a natural death as soon as it came into the world. Far better to say that it is dead than to keep on saying that it is alive. The Ecclesiastical Titles Repeal Bill was carried last week by 137 to 51 in a small House, when even the Conservatives—those staunch supporters of what they call Protestantism—did not make any muster, but allowed the Bill to go through. It may be imagined that even Earl Russell will not oppose it in the Upper House, and that this year we may see an end to this act of national stupidity.

The Government has carried out its promise or proposal of increased aid to existing denominational schools. A Revised Code now lies upon the table of the House of Commons, according to which, as well as we can gather, some at least, if not all, of the denominational schools will have their incomes derived from the State augmented by some fifty per cent. upon the present income derived from the same source. It is difficult, however, to calculate, with accuracy, the precise gain or loss under the proposed new regulations. There are cases, or there appear to be, in which there can be, or probably will be, no gain. These are where the conditions are more strict. It appears to be the intention of the Government in the new Code, to encourage schools to do more by offering increased pay for increased results. Of course, the increased pay will go to the Denominational Schools, and so far there will be an extension of denominational education. But, at the same time, something has to be given for it, which probably the schools did not expect. There will probably be a large increase of the denominational schools; but, as a result, we shall get a better secular education out of the schools. This is what we judge from a first reading of the New Code.

The "religious difficulty," as it is expressed in country parishes, was very fully developed at a meeting at St. Issey, Cornwall, last Friday, the report of the proceedings of which has been sent to us. It appears that in last October a meeting was held for the purpose of adopting measures for the support of the parish schools, and, on the understanding that the education given therein should be entirely unsectarian, a voluntary rate was agreed to, which yielded about 30*l*. After this had taken place, the vicar ascertained that he could not allow the schools to be unsectarian; quite the contrary, he must teach, according to the trust-deed, the Church Catechism, and every thing else that a deed of the National Society obliges him to teach. The whole question was discussed very frankly and fairly, but it was argued that no rate would have been agreed to, but for the understanding that there should be no sectarian education. The vicar proposed, to meet the difficulty, that during the time instruction was being given in the Church Catechism, the master might be giving instruction of a different kind to those children who objected to it. It was objected that two different sets of lessons—one by the clergyman and one by the master—could not be taught at the same time. The vicar declined to adopt the conscience clause scheme of withdrawal, because, as he said, "it was a course which implied that the Catechism was so noxious and poisonous a thing, that children should not be allowed to remain in the room where it was being taught." Several attempts, according to a lengthy report before us, were made to compromise this difficulty. Ultimately the vicar was beaten upon a show of hands, the decision of which he declined to accept, while the churchwarden who had collected the money declared that he would return all that he had collected. The London Board does not seem to know what to be about in this matter; perhaps they can learn something from Cornish friends.

The measures for Church Reform which have been introduced in the present Session are not of a very alarming character. There is the Bishop of Winchester's Resignation Bill and the Archbishop of York's Dilapidation Bill. Small as these Bills are, they are, in a certain way, illustrative. Nonconformists find no occasion for Acts of Parliament to provide against the contingencies referred to in these measures, nor will the Episcopalian Church find any such difficulty when she is freed. Viscount Sandon has introduced his Parochial Councils Bill again, and probably it will meet with the fate it met last year. The Parish Churches Bill is a more Radical measure, in theory, if not in practice. It has been introduced into the Commons by Mr. West, Sir Henry Herbert, and Mr. Hughes. It recites that every parish church belongs to all the parishioners, but the ancient law in that respect has long been disregarded. It therefore provides that the entire area of every church shall be for the free and equal use of all the parishioners "without regard being had to the degrees or qualities of the parishioners respectively." This is in the plain teeth of the Canons, which provide that persons shall be accommodated according to their rank—a real Established Church idea. This Bill is not likely to make much progress, and, in fact, it is of no use trying to mend what is called the Church of England. You might as well try to mend a watch three centuries old.

The Devonshire Church Association has had another meeting. It appears, in fact, to be almost as active as hundreds of those Church Defence Associations of which we heard so much during the Church-rate agitation, but of which we hear nothing now. The last meeting was an annual one, and it was especially congratulated upon a previous meeting having obtained a notice from the *Nonconformist*. We can have no objection to give the Association another notice, and to state that the Torquay branch reckons 85*l*. to be its revenue. The proceedings of this branch were strong if not original. The hon. secretary stated that—

For the first time in the history of Christian England, it will be moved by Mr. Miall, M.P., in the British House of Commons, "That it is expedient at the earliest practicable period to extend the disestablishment initiated by the Irish Church Act to your National Church." The motion, as recorded by the notice-book of the House at the close of last session was, "Mr. Miall—Church of England—Committee of the whole House for the purpose of laying before it resolutions, preliminary to the extension to the Church of England of the policy of disestablishment and disendowment, or to carry that into effect by the Irish Church Act of 1869." It will be seen that the present motion applies to disestablishment only, but if that be carried, disendowment will be attempted; and not only that, but Mr. Miall and his party would apply all national property (as they call it) now held by the Church to secular uses, and our cathedrals to other purposes than ecclesiastical. This motion cannot succeed this session. Mr. Miall himself does not think it will, but no doubt it will be attempted again and again. It cannot therefore be denied that we are on the eve of a tremendous struggle on this question: to prepare for it is only our duty.

Much speaking, led by the Earl of Devon, followed, and it was resolved to do all that could be done.

It is so rare to find unsectarianism in the Church that we are glad to notice it whenever we see the smallest indication of the existence of such a feeling. We notice it at a meeting of the Church Missionary Society held at Oxford last week, and briefly reported in the *Record*. The official report of the Oxford branch says with regard to the Tinnevelly and Madagascar Missions,—

"There are," says the report, "no Nonconformist Christians in Tinnevelly, and to what is this remarkable state of things due? Under God to the generous and Christian forbearance of the London Missionary Society, the great society of the Congregationalist or Independent body, the society which God has used exclusively to bring to a profession of Christianity every individual, without one exception, in the capital of Madagascar, and many thousands more in the districts around the capital, in all 116,000 persons.

When that island was reopened to missionary efforts the London Missionary Society stated through their secretary that they "should give a hearty and Christian welcome to other Missionary Societies who would assist in the work of evangelisation, provided that the nascent native churches should not be disturbed by rival teachers or by the introduction of ecclesiastical controversies." They "thought that these evils would arise if a resident bishop were sent to Madagascar, or an Episcopal Mission were opened in the capital; but there could be no objection to a mission of the Church Missionary Society being commenced on any part of the coast, working up towards the capital, and occasionally visited by the Bishop of Mauritius." The Committee of the Church Missionary Society agreed to this arrangement, and like honourable Christian men have firmly adhered to it, as expressed by Bishop Selwyn.

Their rule is "never to introduce controversy amongst the native people, or to impair the simplicity of the faith. If the fairest openings for missionary effort lie before us, if the ground has been preoccupied by any other religious body, we forbear to enter."

How is it that what is praiseworthy with regard to foreign heathens should be the contrary with regard to home heathens?

DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH STATE CHURCH.

MEETING AT LEICESTER.

(From the *Leicester Chronicle*.)

A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, on Thursday evening, in support of the motion of which Mr. Miall has given notice in the House of Commons, for the Disestablishment of the State Churches of Great Britain. Long before the hour at which the proceedings were announced to commence, nearly every seat in the hall was occupied, the lower galleries, which were reserved for ladies, being completely filled; thus evincing the great amount of interest which is taken by a large portion of the fair sex in questions affecting the national policy. At eight o'clock there was not even standing-room within the hall to be had, every nook and corner being appropriated by an eager audience; and when Mr. Miall entered the platform with Mr. Carvell Williams, amid hearty and vehement acclamations of welcome, the scene was well calculated to inspire the veteran Liberationists with renewed courage and spirit in the arduous undertaking in which they have been so long and so earnestly engaged. The Rev. J. P. Mursell was called to the chair.

Among those present we noticed Aldermen G. Toller, S. Viccars, Geo. Baines, Geo. Stevenson, J. Baines, and Jos. Swain; and Councillors W. Kempson, Jas. Preston, H. T. Chambers, Geo. Royce, Geo. Anderson, and J. J. Preston; the Revs. C. C. Coe, R. Harley, J. C. Pike, and T. Stevenson; and Messrs. R. Toller, W. Baines, Jas. Thompson, G. Glasgow, J. Milne, J. W. McAlpin, F. Hewitt, W. L. Faire, W. F. Bramley, G. H. Baines, and many other well-known Liberals.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly opened the proceedings, called upon

Mr. G. H. BAINES, who read letters of apology for non-attendance, which at the same time expressed sympathy with the object of the meeting, from the borough members (Messrs. Harris and Taylor), and the Rev. Dr. N. Haycroft.

The Rev. C. C. COE then moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting regards with the highest satisfaction the general prevalence of the opinion that, in the interests of justice and religion, as well as for the sake of the Established Churches, it is desirable that the State should cease to afford support to, or regulate the affairs of, religious communities. That, believing that this state of public feeling is largely due to the labours and the fidelity of Edward Miall, Esq., it has special pleasure in learning that he will shortly urge upon the House of Commons the application of the principles of Disestablishment adopted by the Irish Church Act of 1869, to the other Established Churches of the Kingdom.

He argued that the Disestablishment of the State Church would promote the cause of religion, and said he should be pleased, therefore, to see the feeling spoken of in the resolution, still more prevalent, not only among Nonconformists, but among members of the Established Church.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS seconded the motion, and commenced by referring to some statements made in the debate on the Address. Mr. Morley said that when the Burials Bill and University Tests Bill had been passed, the grievances of Nonconformists would all be redressed. He (Mr. W.) assumed that, in the excitement of the moment, the speaker omitted to say their minor grievances (Hear, hear); leaving the way clear for removing the source of all their grievances—the establishment of a Church by law. (Cheers.) Mr. Disraeli said that trade and religion no longer embarrassed Parliament, since they had taken the shape of commercial freedom and religious equality. The last two words seemed to come from him hesitatingly—perhaps because the phrase was new to his lips; or, perchance, from the remembrance that his party had pertinaciously opposed all the measures on the sum total of which he congratulated the country. (Laughter and cheers.) Unfortunately they were not yet in possession of religious equality, and they never would be, so long as any Church was established by law. (Hear, hear.) But, taking the statement in the more limited sense in which it was properly made, it suggested some inquiries having an important bearing on the object of that meeting. The Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed; Catholic emancipation had been granted; Dissenters could marry without going to the altars of the Establishment; equality had been secured in parochial cemeteries; Church-rates had become voluntary, instead of compulsory; Nonconformists had secured an entrance into the Universities, and would soon enjoy all their honours and advantages. All those changes had been the subject of the most dolorous predictions on the part of the Eldons, the Golbourns, and the Inglises of the time; but what Churchman would wish to go back to the ancient system of exclusion and injustice? (Hear, hear.) Let them compare the condition of the Church of England in the days of the Georges and in the days of Victoria. In the first period the Church was politically strong but religiously weak—so weak that Sydney Smith said that the clergy of England had no more influence over the people than the cheesemongers of England. (Laughter.) She never was so politically weak as now, yet she never was so religiously strong—never so energetic or so useful. (Cheers.) Let them look at the latest and the greatest change which had been made in the position of an Established Church—the Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland. It was declared that it would occasion anarchy in the country, and all but destroy the Church. Yet the *Times* Dublin correspondent on the 6th Feb., asserted that Ireland was perfectly tranquil, and its condition now strikingly different from its condition when Parliament opened last year. So much for the nation, and what about the Church? Why, that Church had used its year of grace so wisely that even the *Standard* admitted that, as the Church was now free, she would surpass all rivals, and be a bright example to other Churches. (Cheers.) There was, however, one prophecy uttered by Churchmen which would be fulfilled. They declared that, if the Irish Church were disestablished, those of England and Scotland would soon be disestablished too, and so they would. (Loud cheers.) The motion about to be made by Mr. Miall was not the first motion of the kind which he had proposed. (Hear.) In 1856 he proposed a resolution condemnatory of the Irish Establishment, and though the immediate results appeared at the time to be small, the principles enunciated by Mr. Miall had been embodied in the measure carried by Mr. Gladstone

—(applause)—and, so surely as the Act of 1869 followed the motion of 1856, would the debate of 1871 be followed by a similar measure dealing with the Churches of England and Scotland. (Loud applause.) In the prospect of that event, he desired, not to menace or distress the members of those Churches, but to encourage and reassure them, and bidding them to look to the events which had occurred in their own Church, in England, in Ireland, in the colonies, and in America, he could confidently say :—

Ye fearful souls, fresh courage take!
The clouds ye so much dread
Are big with mercies, which will break
With blessings on your head.

(Laughter and cheers.) If anything would reconcile Churchmen to disestablishment, it must surely be a sense of the bondage in which they were placed by reason of their connection with the State. (Hear, hear.) Let him give them two illustrations of that bondage. Episcopalians were fond of having thanksgiving services after harvest, but there was no service appropriate to the occasion in the Prayer-book, and so long ago as 1860 one was prepared by Convocation; but it could not be used without the authority of the Crown. Three years passed before that was applied for, and then, by the advice of the law-officers of the Crown, that authority was refused. Thus—he quoted from a report of Convocation—"The earnest wishes of the members of the Church for such a service are generally unfulfilled, and the labours of the Convocation in this respect generally ineffectual." Ever since that time Convocation had been anxiously considering how the padlock might be taken off the lips of thankful Churchmen, and, at last, it had agreed that it could only be done by a relaxation of the Act of Uniformity. Take another illustration, also belonging to the worship of the Church. They had lately seen that 2,500 female bookbinders had petitioned the Queen, representing that they were in great distress because Parliament did not last session pass an Act authorising the use of what is called the new Lectionary. Well, he pitied the poor bookbinders, but he pitied those who were to use the new Lectionary a great deal more. One might suppose that the Established clergy might be trusted to choose the chapters of the Bible to be read in churches on Sundays, and also that it was not very convenient to compel every congregation in the kingdom to hear the same passages read, without regard to the circumstances either of the time or of the locality. But no! Parliament would not allow any liberty in the matter, either to the clergy or the people, and, as complaints had been made of the old-fashioned Scripture-lessons, a Commission had lately prepared a new set, but they could not be used until Parliament passed a law for the purpose. He hoped that, when the Lectionary Bill came before Parliament, some member would have the courage to propose, as an amendment, that it was expedient that the framing of a new Lectionary should be left to a Disestablished Church. (Loud cheers.) He rejoiced to know that a growing number of Churchmen had come to the conclusion that nothing but disestablishment would prove an adequate remedy for the evils which afflicted the Church. In illustration of that statement, Mr. Williams quoted some forcible passages from a pamphlet from the Rev. J. B. McClellan, of Bottisham, and a sermon by the Rev. J. Slater, of Southampton. Those sentiments, he said, were echoes of the sentiments advocated by Anti-State-Churchmen in years gone by—(Hear)—and they meant to continue their labours till the great majority of Churchmen held the same views. He closed by expressing great satisfaction at the holding of such a meeting in Leicester, and appealed to the younger portion of his audience to complete the great work which their fathers had commenced. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. MIALL, who was received most enthusiastically, said he rejoiced in attending that meeting, because he regarded Leicester as the cradle of the movement which he believed was about to establish itself throughout the country. (Hear, hear.) He felt exceedingly gratified by the fact that Mr. Mursell occupied the chair at that moment. Upwards of thirty years had passed since Mr. Mursell and himself went forward in that direction hand in hand, and heart with heart—(Hear, hear)—and after that period of labour—Mr. Mursell in his sphere, and he (Mr. Miall) in his, they had come as it were together again, always moving in the same direction, and having emerged into the same path, and he had no doubt if they lived—as he hoped they might—they would see the fulfilment of their hopes in the emancipation of the Church of Christ from all the fetters that had been thrown around her by the policy of civil governments. A generation had passed since they took up that side, and determined to instil the truths which it embodied into the minds and the hearts of their fellow-countrymen, and he hoped they had done their work, if not satisfactorily, at all events with diligence and with perseverance—(Hear, hear)—so that, as Mr. Williams had already intimated to them, they heard the sound of their own voices, and the glorious echoes of the truths that they had preached, come back to them from all quarters, and sometimes with improvement, as it were, and a softening of the edges of those sounds to make it real music to their souls. (Cheers.) He wished to say two or three words to give an explanation of the motion for which he had given notice in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) First let him say that he had often desired to say to his fellow-Christians who worshipped in the Church of England, that he did not in any way desire to interfere with or cripple their religious privileges. He had usually been esteemed an enemy of the Church; he believed he was about one of the wisest friends it had. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) He felt perfectly secure of this,—that if they could only carry out in practice the principles that he had preached during his life, and if those principles were embodied in an Act of Parliament by the Legislature, there were very few Churchmen of intelligence and religious feeling who would not, after a short period, if he should be alive, render to him thanks for having brought them into a position of liberty which they had never before enjoyed. (Hear, hear.) They had a power they were not aware of—they had capabilities that they had never developed;—they only wanted to be educated in the emotions, the sentiments, and the principles which God had implanted in their hearts for carrying on His work in His kingdom upon earth, and they would find themselves in a position of freedom and power that they never had before. (Cheers.) They fancied that they were jealous of them and their privileges. What were their privileges? The privileges that Government can confer—privileges that had nothing whatever to do with the advancement of religion, which they regarded as of the utmost importance. Churchmen thought that they intended to rob them of the rights that were their due: Liberationists simply wished to place them upon an equality with themselves, and give them that freedom which they themselves enjoyed. As a Christian man—as one professing to love the cause which was introduced into this world by their Lord and Master—he had always desired, since he could think and reason, that the truths by which He intended to save and to sanctify and to glorify humanity might be as free to go forth to all nations as it was possible they should be; and the only object they had in view from the beginning had been this. When some one asked Diogenes what they could confer upon him, he said, "Stand out of the sunshine"; and they desired, on behalf of religion, to say to the State, when the State asked, "What favour can we confer upon you?" "Stand aside, and let religion shine with its own light." (Loud cheers.) He wished to carry on that question in the House of Commons, first as a Christian, and secondly as an Englishman. He was not at all anxious to carry that measure for the sake of Nonconformity; he was afraid they attached too much importance simply to sectarian views and objects in that matter. It was not at all necessary that they should be sectarian in order that they might accomplish all the ends they had in view. It was not as a sectarian that he would at all advocate the question, because he did not think it would answer the purpose of sectarians. When every trace of slavery had been swept away from the Established Church, as clean as it was now among the Churches that were not established, and when the competition between Protestant Episcopalians and other denominations of Christians was altogether unrestricted, he was not quite sure whether the genius of the people of England was not of that character that might possibly rather prefer that order and those views which obtained amongst Episcopalians than amongst themselves. At all events, he did not want in the slightest degree to interfere with that: they wished rather to place truth in a position in which expressed truth would certainly lead to an issue in conformity with it. And if there was one thing more than another which they desired should take place, it was this—that all the people of England should feel that in regard to religion they were as free to think and determine for themselves as they were in regard to any scientific question. (Hear, hear.) He would say a word or two as to what they proposed to do. They were not going to bring in a Bill this session for the Disestablishment of the Churches of England and Ireland; they were simply going to test the feeling of the House by a resolution affirming the propriety of legislating in that sense. They hoped to follow up that, not this session, but possibly next, with a bill that should contain all the provisions that they believed to be necessary in order to carry into practical effect the principles which they were endeavouring to instil into the minds of the country. Of course disestablishment of the English Church would be very much the same thing, and would be expressed in the same way as disestablishment of the Irish Church. But in the management of disendowment, he thought, as far as he and his friends were concerned, there would be some difference in the mode of management from that which was adopted by Mr. Gladstone. (Hear, hear.) He should be sorry to take to himself credit that did not belong to him, but he must say that Mr. Gladstone's method of carrying out the disendowment of the Irish Church was very nearly akin to the plan which he had years before proposed in reference to the same Church and the Church of England. And he would further say this—that it might seem extremely conceited in him to say so—that wherein he departed from the plan he (Mr. Miall) laid down, he did not think he had greatly improved the result. For example, he did not see any necessity for creating a great corporation into which the treasury of the nation should be absorbed, to set free that Church which was lately in bondage. His plan would be rather to let all the vested interests that existed die out in due course, not injuring any man, not doing injustice to any individual, and showing favour to no particular denomination. (Hear, hear.) He did not see any reason why they should have a great scheme of commutation by which the clergy of the Established Church should be put under a sort of moral pressure to exchange their individual vested interests for the interests of the Church to which they belonged. He should like them, if they wished to transfer such peculiar interests as they had to the Establishment, when it was disestablished, to have the fullest liberty to act according to their own discretion, and not to be forced by a sort of moral pressure to do that which they probably, under other circumstances, if left to their own free will, would not choose to do. (Hear, hear.) The great danger that stared statesmen in the face in regard to the disendowment of the Church of England was this—that they would have a spiritual corporation so strong and so rich and so powerful that it would be like an *imperium in imperio*, and that the State itself would be hardly able to stand against the influence that the Church would be able to exert. It might be so, and if that power came out of religion he would rejoice in it—if it were born of truth, and an adherence to the principles of the kingdom of Christ Jesus their Lord, all of them would rejoice in it; but if it were to be simply pecuniary power, he did not think that they who were carrying forward that movement, nor any statesman who had hereafter to settle it, would be doing wisely to strengthen that power by the mode in which they satisfied all vested interests. For his own part—he spoke merely on his own personal responsibility, and not in the name of any society or association of men—the mode in which he would propose to carry out the disendowment of the English Church would be this—that every parish should retain the funds set apart by the State in that parish for ecclesiastical purposes—not retaining them for ecclesiastical purposes—after satisfying every vested interest that was associated with them, should do with that fund that which the parish felt to be most necessary in order to develope its social welfare—(Hear, hear);—separate it only from religious use, as was done in the case of the Irish Church, and let each parish decide for itself to what other use it would put its own fund. (Hear, hear.) Give them the Church building, give them whatever property the Church had in her own right—give them the tithe, give them the glebe: let them be parish property to be used for the moral advantage of the parish in all future time—but not to be used in such a way as that one denomination of Christians should obtain the benefit of them, to the exclusion of others. (Loud cheers.) There was no mode in which that could be carried out except by excluding religion altogether as an object on which such moneys should be expended, and he felt perfectly convinced that the five or six millions a year now devoted to what might be called sectarian purposes, might be devoted to moral and social purposes in each of their villages with very great effect, and with beneficial results to the inhabitants. Then, they did not wish—they did not intend if they could help it—to confer upon the Church that went forth from its establishment into a state of disestablishment, anything that might hereafter cripple its freedom—(Hear, hear);—and that, he thought, was one thing that would be likely to attract the attention, and fix the regard and desire of those who earnestly cared for the religion that was set forth in the Church of England. Perfect liberty they must secure if they were to withdraw the national resources on which they now depended. They desired with all their hearts to give to them most perfect liberty to choose their own course in regard both to doctrine and discipline. He was not quite certain that they had done so in regard to the Irish Church. He thought that by constituting that Church a royal corporation, and giving her the power to sue and be sued in her own name, and constituting the regulations which she had laid down for herself into regulations which should be recognised by law—they had done real justice to the Church of Ireland. (A voice: "Hear, hear.") But in a different sense to the "Hear, hear" of that gentleman. (Laughter.) He thought when they applied the same principle in regard to the Churches of England and Scotland, they should take more care than they had done in time past that they were not restricted in the smallest degree in their religious freedom—their power to act together according to their discretion; and he hoped if they could only instil that truth into the minds of the people of this country, it would deprive what they call the separation of Church from the State of half the terrors with which it was now associated. Sometimes he was quite amused at the feeling which seemed to be exhibited by their Episcopalian friends in prospect of what they regarded as a great calamity. The kind of calamity which they were anticipating was just this—they were teaching them to walk alone. (Hear, hear.) They might have a fall, and might now and then come to grief; but only think of a human being brought up not to walk at all, and only think of a Church brought up not to rest on its own resources! He had not the smallest doubt that when it was thrown upon its own liberty the Church of England would display as large a measure of liberality—perhaps larger—in proportion to its means, than any other body whatever. At any rate, it was but fair that they should give to them, as they were able to do so by law, power and opportunity of so showing their liberality in the cause of that Church which they evidently loved. He believed that, so far as the motion that he had given notice of was concerned, their prospects were brighter than they were six months ago. He did not know whether they should come to a conclusion that would be equally gratifying and satisfactory to those who took an interest in that question; but he believed that the question was one which would be fairly entertained by the House of Commons, and that it was making very large progress indeed—far beyond what was usually conceived by Dissenters—in those circles of society that they should denominate High Church. They had already heard Mr. Williams quote passages from documents issued by High Churchmen on the subject. He was receiving from day to day, almost without intermission, intimations from the clergy in different parts of the country—both the dignified clergy and those who occupied the ordinary spheres of clergymen—letters of thanks for having taken that question in hand, and encouraging him to go on and

persevere—(cheers)—until the Church had been set free. He believed there was a general spirit of true Christian truth in the hearts of the men of this country—a general spirit and desire that Christian liberty might prevail. He believed that, so far from being a diffusion of the spirit of infidelity among the people, there was, on the contrary, more earnest and sincere faith in Christian truth than there ever was before. (Cheers.) He believed that sincerity of the people in Christian truth was expressing itself in every way by efforts to clear the ground of every legal impediment which hindered progress, and he fully expected that before they had full accomplished the work they had in hand, so far from its being regarded by the Church of England as a blow aimed at them, it would be regarded by them as a new opening to liberty and usefulness, and that they would go in with them and possess the land. (Cheers.) Under those circumstances he felt encouraged to persevere. (Hear, hear.) During the thirty years and upwards that he had given his attention to that subject, he had seen all the main arguments by which the State-Church system had rooted itself in the public mind cut asunder by facts—all the theories which gave it a hold upon the conscience and affection pitilessly exposed. The Anglican Church, as far as it was a State Church established by law, had no *raison d'être*, except in the past. It stood amongst them for no other reason in the world than that it had stood so long. If that were the case, he said it was high time for them, as intelligent and rational people—as people who professed to have an attachment to the Christian religion—to put an end to an institution which stood only because it had stood in the past, and which had really—logically speaking—lost the strength and stay of its life. Really, if they could only break the corn within which the life and religion of the State Church was included, and let it free, he had not the smallest doubt that the future would be far more beautiful and glorious in regard to Christianity than it had been before within their experience or observation; and when the time had fully arrived for the true principles of the Gospel pervading all classes of society, it would be the time in which the work in which they were now engaged would be most thoroughly appreciated and most highly honoured. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. A. MACKENNAL said he had great pleasure in proposing—

That a copy of the resolution just now adopted be sent to the members for the borough, with the earnest hope that Mr. Miall's motion will receive their hearty support and votes in the House of Commons.

It must be a great pleasure to Mr. Miall to reflect that, from the town of Leicester, he would receive the support of two members who, without being asked, had pledged themselves to adopt the course they were about to ask them to do in that resolution. But notwithstanding that they were already prepared to support Mr. Miall, and that they knew it, the passing of the resolution was no mere form. The Liberal party in the House of Commons was so thoroughly one, that a resolution sent up to two members like those for the borough of Leicester would have the same effect as if sent up to the whole of the members on the Liberal side of the House. It was his opinion that the country should make its voice heard long and loud and persistently on this question. He was not at all in doubt as to what would be the practical issue, because he knew the best part of Mr. Gladstone's nature was with them, and that it was only in consequence of the superficial and technical circumstances around that led to the opposition the friends of religious liberty were experiencing from him. It was, however, his (the speaker's) opinion that, before the question was finally settled, they would find Mr. Gladstone working with them. He thought they ought to make it clearly understood that they had made up their minds on this point, and that they did not intend to be turned away by opposition; but that they intended to fight their own battle, relying upon their advocacy of religious freedom, without wishing to be under any obligation either to the House of Lords, or to the Conservative party. They had not met with such courteous treatment at their hands in times gone by, as to recognise in them opponents in whom they could place reliance to carry measures into effect which they believed would be for the welfare of the country. His friend Mr. Williams had spoken to them of members of the House of Commons feeling it to be a burden and trouble to have to discuss ecclesiastical questions. He was confident that members of Nonconformist churches, not only in this town, but throughout the whole of the country, felt aversion to the obligation imposed upon them of dragging before the public the internal affairs of another Christian community, and speaking of them upon political platforms. They would rather not come there and detail the number of reasons why the Church of England should be disestablished, for it was very difficult indeed to do so in such a manner as did not seem as though they were making charges against the Church itself, but as long as the Church remained a State Establishment, they were bound to oppose it, because they were responsible for its continuance as such, and, while they were so, they were bound to make efforts to deprive it of State-aid. (Applause.)

Mr. W. STANYON, in seconding the resolution, stated that one reason why he hoped Mr. Miall's motion would be successful, was that it would relieve members of Parliament of much labour which was now constantly arising on different ecclesiastical questions. When the disendowment and disestablishment of all State Churches had been brought about, he thought they would have less labour, and more time to devote to the many important matters that were constantly requiring attention.

The Rev. J. WOOD moved:—

That the most cordial thanks of this meeting are hereby presented to Edward Miall, Esq., M.P., and J. Carvell Williams, Esq., for their presence and eloquent addresses on the present occasion.

He had no doubt that the resolution would meet with a cordial reception, for even those who did not approve of Mr. Miall's motion could not but feel thankful to him for having given them an opportunity of hearing so able an exposition of his sentiments. The other day he (the writer) stood opposite one of the posters convening the meeting, which was being read by two gentlemen, and one of them said—"What inconceivable fools—(laughter)—these fellows are to think they can ever disestablish the Church of England." (Renewed laughter.) Well, he did not know what an inconceivable fool was, but if it meant one who was in favour of the disestablishment, he should be glad to be one of them. (Applause.) This question of disestablishment had, for the last thirty years, been advocated by men who, for their nobility of nature and true-heartedness, deserved the respect of Englishmen, and he might say, with regard to Mr. Miall, that gentleman had never failed to advocate the cause—even in the face of considerable obloquy, he had persisted in his work, hopeful of bringing his labours to a successful issue. (Applause.)

Mr. W. BAINES seconded the vote of thanks, remarking that he hoped to live to see the day when the State Church would be disestablished, and the Rev. R. HARLEY briefly supported the vote.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation, and having been briefly responded to, a vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

WOOLWICH.

A public meeting in support of the disestablishment motion was held at Woolwich last Wednesday. Mr. George Potter, of London, presided, and in the course of his introductory speech read the following letter which he had received from a curate of the Church of England:—

Sir,—You have been so often blamed for patronising strikes, that you will doubtless read with some interest the following communication:—

There is one branch of labour to which I belong in which strikes are prohibited. I will state the facts carefully. I am permitted to work *by license only*, and this license limits me to a particular sphere. Before I can obtain this license I am compelled to obtain a certificate from three employers, that I have neither done nor written anything against the interest of the masters. At forty or forty-five I am of little service on account of age. I am, in spite of all this, forbidden by law to leave this line of work and adopt another. Can you wonder that I and the class to which I belong are miserably underpaid, and that we have not the power of resistance? You will ask me what I am. I am a curate.

Whenever any of your friends deplore the evils of combination, remind them of our history and our present position. Remind them of our sufferings, which we hope now to have a chance of removing, and let them be thankful that they have the power of combined resistance.

You may make what use you think fit of this letter.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A CURATE WHO REMEMBERS THE NECESSITY OF A LICENSE.

Referring to the salaries of bishops and the cost of cathedral services, Mr. Potter said that working men would determine from that night that such should cease. The Church of England had not done anything in the way of education. Some of the best workmen in that town and others were unable to write their names, and yet they had to contribute to the maintenance of the Church of England. Everything that tended to worldliness existed in the Church of England—(cheers)—and she had failed in her duty. (Hear.) If the good men in the Church wanted to teach pure and undefiled religion, they would do what they could to release her from the State. Religion should be above the State, and not under it. (Cheers.) The working men of Woolwich had that night inaugurated a movement destined to succeed, and to succeed speedily. The religious people had much to do; they must work outside of their religious bodies, and while they looked upon it as a religious matter, its keystone was essentially political. (Applause.) He would call upon J. Firth Bottomley, Esq., barrister-at-law, to give an address.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY, who was received with loud applause, then delivered an address on the necessity of disestablishment, which was very cordially received. At the close,

Mr. EBENEZER DAVIS moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting, having regard to the whole course of recent legislation in ecclesiastical matters, to the favourable reception which all bills, having for their object the securing of perfect religious equality for all, have met with in the Commons House of Parliament, and the decided and repeated majorities by which most of them have been passed by the people's representatives; also bearing in mind the general tone of public opinion in regard to the principle of disestablishment, and being convinced that the adherents of Established Churches in Great Britain are in the minority, and that the special status and privilege accorded their clergy is wrong, unprincipled, and unjust in operation,

Hereby expresses its hearty satisfaction that Mr. Edward Miall has given notice in the House of Commons that he will move—

That it is expedient at the earliest practicable period to apply the policy of disestablishment initiated by the Irish Church Act of 1869 to the other Churches established by law in the United Kingdom,

And further pledges itself to give him its earnest support.

Mr. DOUGLAS CUMMING urged that if they did their utmost to disestablish the Church, they should do their utmost to turn out Ritualism. The Articles of the Church of England were in accordance with the Bible. (A voice—"Baptismal regeneration!" laughter, and great uproar.) A nation believing in God should have religious instruction in every village. It would not matter much in Woolwich or Plumstead if the Church were disestablished. —(laughter)—but there were places where great hardships would be inflicted by disestablishment. (Applause.)

Dr. BAXTER LANGLEY said they were asked why they wished to interfere with the Church. The true position was, why did the Church interfere with them? (Applause.) The Church had interfered with them so far that they had dared to take the goods from the people, and even the bed from under them. ("Shame.") Mr. Cumming, whose earnestness he admired, had said that they should combine to put out the Ritualists. That was not right. It was based on the principle that Mr. Mackonochie was not as sincere in his views as they in that room were. The Liberation Society had its support simply because he believed that it was every man's right to hold his individual opinions. On the grounds of political liberty, he ignored the idea of public money being appropriated for propagating the religious doctrines of one particular sect or party. (Cheers and applause.)

The resolution was carried, with but two dissentients, and amid loud applause.

Mr. W. DAVIS moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting, desiring that Mr. Miall should be strongly supported by a full expression of public opinion in favour of disestablishment, resolves:—That a copy of the resolution just passed be sent to Sir David Salomons, Bart., the senior representative of this borough, with a request that he will not fail to give Mr. Miall his support, and further that he will inform the House of the feeling of his constituents as expressed in public meeting.

After speaking in support of the resolution for a short time, Mr. GEORGE WHALE, jun., rose and seconded the motion. A gentleman in the meeting moved an amendment that Mr. Gladstone's name should be included in the resolution. This was agreed to by the mover, and the resolution thus amended was carried almost unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the chairman and the deputation, J. Firth Bottomley, Esq., was carried with acclamation.

At the conclusion of the meeting three hearty cheers were given for Mr. Miall.

ROCHDALE.—Last Thursday a meeting of the Young Men's Auxiliary was held in the Public Hall. Mr. James Ashworth presided, and Mr. James Petrie, J.P.; the Rev. G. S. Reany, of Warrington; the Rev. J. Oddy, the Rev. H. W. Parkinson, Mr. Kearley, and Mr. John Ashworth, spoke. Motions relative to University Tests and disestablishment were adopted.

OTHER LIBERATION MEETINGS.—The recent meetings and lectures of the Society have been too numerous for us to report in detail. On the 22nd of February Mr. Carvell Williams addressed a good meeting at Market Harboro'. Last week the Rev. W. J. Callaway lectured at Ilkeston, Melbourne, Ripley, and Belper. The Rev. M. Miller has lectured at Nottingham, Market Rasen, and Brigg; and the Rev. J. H. Gordon at Spennymoor, Hurworth, and Cockerton; and the Rev. W. Best at Bradford. The Derby Committee have held two young men's conferences, and meetings have been held at Middlesbro', Golcar, and Kirkstall. The following lectures were to be held at the end of February or the beginning of March:—By the Rev. G. W. Conder at Northampton, Bradford, Kettering, Tonbridge, and Maidstone; by the Rev. W. Best at Sheffield. Meetings were to be held at Emley, Clayton West, Cambridge, Peterborough, Wolverhampton, and Nottingham. A meeting is also to be held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, shortly.

THE PRESBYTERIAN UNION MOVEMENT.

What may be called the Union campaign in the Free Church, writes the *Weekly Review*, is now nearly over. A vast majority of the presbyteries have discussed the Union question and given their decision. The result is that the Union party has gained an immense triumph; while the anti-Unionists have been defeated in all directions but one, and that one lies among the mists of the remoter Highlands. Unconstitutional agitation, the arts of literary aspersion, and threats of secession or disruption, have only damaged their cause, as such weapons might have been expected to do. The firmness of the presbyteries and the good sense of the Free Church people over the country have resisted everything that was intended to stifle discussion and prevent an honest expression of opinion. Up to this time about forty presbyteries, and these by far the most important in the Free Church, have declared in favour of Union, while only about six or seven have taken the opposite side. About twenty presbyteries have yet to give their decision, but the existing majority in favour of Union will only be increased as the returns come in. So far as the voice of the Free Church is concerned the principle of Union is secured, and, consequently, the consummation of Union is only a question of time.

We learn from the Edinburgh papers that the opponents of the Union movement met in force in the Scottish capital last week. The meeting was "large, influential, and most enthusiastic." The speaking was sustained by the Revs. Dr. Horatius Bonar, A. M. Bannatyne, Mr. Mackay (Inverness), Hugh Martin, Mr. Nixon, and Dr. Begg and several lay Free Churchmen. Large quotations were made from the letters, &c., of Dr. Chalmers as to the duty of continuing to maintain the Establishment principle after the great secession as before it; and strong determination was expressed to continue firm to the old principles of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Begg

said:—The Free Church is threatened with extinction by being merely incorporated with the U.P. Church; and (paraphrasing the well-known lines) we, the people of Scotland, may say:—

"And shall the Free Church die?
And shall the Free Church die?
One hundred thousand Free Churchmen
Will know the reason why."

(Loud applause.)

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TESTS BILL.

(From the *Liberator*.)

We last month described the arrangement which had been entered into between the Government and the representatives of the Nonconformists in regard to the College Fellowships, and now we can point to the practical result. Each party was to take its own course—the former declining to extend the provisions of the bill, and the latter recording their protest against the omission of the clerical fellowships. The effect was seen in the two divisions which took place in committee, and is shown yet more clearly by a comparison of those divisions with the divisions of 1870 on precisely the same amendments. Thus, on the amendment of Mr. Stevenson, to include the Divinity Degree, the numbers were:—

	1870.	1871.
For	100 ..	140
Against	262 ..	185
Majority against	161 ..	45

On the more important amendment relating to the fellowships, the numbers were:—

	1870.	1871.
For	79 ..	160
Against	157 ..	181
Majority against	78 ..	22

The fact is, that, whether their policy in this matter was good or bad, the Government have been unsupported by any section of their party, either in the House or in the press; and, if the friends of religious equality had desired it, they could have converted a small victory into a complete defeat.

THE BRIGHTON RITUAL CASE.

This well-known case came up on Thursday for judgment before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The plaintiff in this case was Mr. Hibbert, formerly a colonial magistrate, and the defendant the Rev. James Purchas, incumbent of St. James's, Brighton. In the Court of Arches Sir R. Phillimore condemned Mr. Purchas in consequence of his use of certain observances in his church, but allowed others. In the case of others he held that Mr. Purchas had not offended. Mr. Purchas did not appeal, but Mr. Hibbert appealed on those points which were against him.

The Lord Chancellor, in delivering judgment, reviewed at great length "the ornaments rubric," and the "advertisements" of Queen Elizabeth, quoting the Parker correspondence, Cardwell's "Conferences," and a large number of other authorities on the point. Their lordships decided that Mr. Purchas had offended against ecclesiastical law by wearing the chasuble, alb, and tunicle, during the communion service. With regard to the 16th article, charging Mr. Purchas with mixing water with the wine at the Holy Communion, their lordships directed that a monition must issue against him. With regard to the charge referring to wafer-bread, their lordships were of opinion that the rubric directed that the best wheaten bread should be used at the Holy Communion, and that it should be provided by the churchwardens. It was hard to see why pure wheaten bread should be provided by the parish if it were allowable for wafer-bread to be provided by the priest from other sources. On this point their lordships would advise that pure wheaten bread alone should be used at the communion. With regard to the 17th article, which charged Mr. Purchas with violating the rubric by standing with his back to the people while consecrating the elements, and the Dean of Arches had held that it was not necessary that the congregation should "see" that part of the ceremony—the question arose upon this point, which was the north side of the communion table, as mentioned in the rubric? Some ingenious arguments had been used on this point, with a view to show that the north side of the altar was that portion of the west side which was nearest to the north, but their lordships held that the north side was that which looked towards the north, and that Mr. Purchas therefore had violated the rubric in standing with his back to the people during the consecration of the elements, thus preventing the people from seeing him. Mr. Purchas seemed to have violated the letter and the spirit of the rubric. Their lordships directed that Mr. Purchas should pay all the costs in this court and in the court below.

Mr. Mackonochie took part in the services at St. Alban's, Holborn, on Sunday. He wore chasuble, alb, and tunic, and stood with his back to the people while consecrating the elements. The sermon was preached by one of the curates, who said it would soon be impossible for any "Catholic priest" to remain in the Church; but they would not acknowledge the right of a secular tribunal to pronounce judgment. Come what might, they would bow the knee to no Protestant Baal. Rather than render homage to the image which Nebuchadnezzar the King had set up, they would go into the furnace; but let it be known they did not intend to leave the Church of England. They cling to the See of Canterbury with the energy of men clinging for life.

The *Church Review* says of the Purchas judgment:—"Thursday's judgment of the Judicial Committee forms so startling and decided an epoch in the history of the Established Church of England, that it is to be regarded as the beginning rather than the continuation of a great struggle. No doubt the judgment was honestly concocted; yet no one could have concocted it unless his ruling motive had been a desire to crush out 'Ritualism,' and that Ritualism interpreted in its widest sense."

The *Record* regards the judgment "as the judicial overthrow of ultra-Ritualism."

The *Church Times* looks at it in quite another light, saying:—"We cannot but regard the whole business as a plot to drive the Catholic party out of the Church of England. We may at once state, therefore, that the Catholic party sees the game of its foes too clearly to play into their hands. We shall not go; and if the results of this last scheme should be more unpleasant to the Bishops and the Church Association than anything that has yet happened, they have only themselves to thank for it."

The *Church Herald* says of the judgment:—"In the exhibition of ignorance, in subtle crookedness, and in intrinsic absurdity, it surpasses all previous performances of our Highest Ecclesiastical Court of Appeal. The judgment, however, has its lessons. On us who are more careful to maintain sound Catholic principles than to insist on the importance of this or that external, it falls comparatively lightly. We have never thought of confounding the true religion with apparel and incense-pots. To the mere Ritualist the judgment is almost a threat of annihilation. Such should learn from it the wisdom of moderation and the advantage of avoiding unnecessary provocation. But there is one thing which this judgment should impress upon all of us, and that is the absolute importance of at once getting rid of this hateful Court. . . . Another lesson is the hopelessness of expecting that the E.C.U. will ever do anything effectually to defend the Catholic character of the Church of England. Here it is in full swing, with large means and a gigantic and complicated machinery, and what has it done in protection of our rights as Catholic Churchmen? Nothing at all. Under its ascendancy the thickest blows have been falling on the Church, and no means have been taken to parry them. All the E.C.U. has done yet has been to inoculate many of the clergy with Liberalism, and to take their influence from the support of Conservatism to that of Mr. Gladstone."

THE BURIALS BILL.—Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., was to move the second reading of the Burials Bill at the morning sitting to-day, and Colonel Bartelott, M.P., to move its rejection.

THE IRISH CHURCH.—A meeting, having for its aim the increase of the Irish Church Sustenation Fund, was held on Wednesday, the Earl of Harrowby in the chair. Letters from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were read, expressing deep sympathy with the object in view, and offering their assistance. It was decided that a committee should be at once formed.

THE ROYAL MARRIAGE AND LENT.—The Princess Louise is to be married on the 21st March, and the *Guardian* is in despair over a Lent festival. One of the most powerful arguments, it says, for an Established Church is the "indirect influence it exercises over that large area of society which lies between the inner circle of the devout and the multitude of the unattached outside the consecrated ground,"—and here is Royalty exercising its influence in a sense opposite to that of the Church, so as to set this intermediate circle more free to take its own way! This piety of the "intermediate circle," which is thus a resultant of the forces of Church opinion acting in one line of direction and of Royal example in another, does not strike us as likely to be of a very impressive kind, even if the two forces were to coalesce.—*Spectator*.

ECCLESIASTICAL BILLS.—The provisions of two ecclesiastical bills which have been brought into the House of Commons have been published. One is Mr. West's bill, to declare and amend the law as to the rights of parishioners in respect of their parish churches; and for other purposes relating thereto. It seeks to declare that churches are to be for the equal use of all parishioners; it would abolish faculties, and forbid the allotment, assignment, or appropriation of any seats in parish churches. One clause directs the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to accept sites for free and unappropriated churches. The other bill is brought in by Mr. Salt to amend and define the law relating to private chapels and to chapels belonging to colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums, and other public institutions. It provides that a Bishop may license any such chapel, and that the officiating minister shall be subject to no control or interference on the part of the incumbent of the district in which the chapel is situate. The minister is to have the disposal of the offertory.

THE PURCHASE SYSTEM IN THE CHURCH.—With the abolition of the purchase system in the army, we may look for the abolition before long of the purchase system in the Church. The traffic in the "next presentation" to livings may be legitimate, but it offends weaker brethren, and considering how many of our brethren are becoming weaker every day, the sooner the practice of advertising the infirmities of aged incumbents who tarry too long in their comfortable berths—or, to speak more correctly, their "spheres of usefulness"—is put an end to, the better. Now that under the new scheme of army reform no man will be allowed to superintend the killing of his fellow-creatures officially merely because he has money in his purse, we can hardly continue to allow Dives to purchase the privilege of superintending the spiritual welfare of Lazarus. In fact, the slaughter of bodies and the salvation of souls must be placed on the same footing. A parish full of sinners is no doubt a great luxury, but is far too sacred a subject for the auctioneer's hammer, and a new lock must be devised for the pulpit which cannot be picked by a golden key.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S FUND.—The annual meeting of the board of management of the Bishop of London's Fund was held on Monday at the offices in Pall Mall under the presidency of the bishop. The report stated that the total sum received since the formation of the fund had been 420,000*l*. An outline of the work of the fund since its commencement showed that of 81 missions established with the fund, 20 had been endowed as new parishes, 7 had been transferred to the Rochester diocese, and 35 were still maintained at the cost of the fund; 18 parochial curates, 29 Scripture-readers, and 23 parochial mission women were still wholly or partially maintained by it. Grants had also been made for a number of parsonages, schools, mission stations, and new churches. As to future wants, it was stated that there were now twenty-two districts requiring churches, for ten of which sites had still to be provided. The Bishop of London pointed out that the subscriptions received last year amounted to 28,000*l*.—a larger sum than in any previous year. Their operations during the period had been somewhat interfered with by the Education Act, and the Board had felt it necessary to discount the demand that would be made upon them by a large grant amounting to nearly 20,000*l*.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE POPE.—The correspondence respecting the affairs of Rome, 1870-1, was issued on Thursday night. It extends from July 19 to Jan. 13. Under date August 21, Earl Granville writes to Mr. Jervoise, at Rome, referring to the possibility that His Holiness may turn his thoughts towards a temporary refuge in some possession of the British Crown, "I need scarcely say that Her Majesty's Government have no desire for such a result, and would not wish to offer spontaneously to receive the Pope in any part of Her Majesty's dominions. Her Majesty's Government would certainly not refuse if requested by the Pope to afford His Holiness an immediate asylum on board one of Her Majesty's ships of war, and having ascertained his wishes as to the place he would desire to proceed to, they would consider how far those wishes, if they pointed to his temporary residence in any place within Her Majesty's dominions, could properly be complied with." At Earl Granville's request, the Admiralty sent instructions to Captain Salmon, of Her Majesty's ship Defence, to place himself in communication with Mr. Jervoise, at Civita Vecchia, with this view. Other portions of the correspondence relate to saluting the Italian flag at Civita Vecchia, and to steps taken to protect the property of British ecclesiastical institutions in Rome. Sir George Bowyer expresses gratitude for the just and liberal course which Her Majesty's Government had pursued in this matter.

PROFESSOR JOWETT.—A large number of the friends of Professor Jowett assembled to meet him on Friday at a dinner at the Albion, Aldersgate-street. Among those present were Lord Westbury, the Bishop of Exeter, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Houghton, the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Professor Huxley, Mr. Robert Browning, Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Hon. Lyulph Stanley, Professor Nichols, of Glasgow; Mr. Thomas Woolner, Mr. M. D. Conway, and others, to the number of 142 in all. The Dean of Westminster presided, and in proposing the health of the Master of Balliol, alluded in touching terms to the long friendship which had subsisted between them, and their travels together. Professor Jowett was received with prolonged cheering. He gave a very interesting sketch of the later history of Balliol, and mentioned the names of many of its distinguished sons. Mr. Arthur Hobhouse expressed the greetings of the old members of Balliol for the visitors present, and called upon Lord Westbury, who replied in a very humorous speech. In the course of it he remarked that the Universities were originally meant to represent the intelligence of the country, not to be the property of a denomination. Though he could not say that even at Balliol knowledge now rose to the same level as in the world outside, yet he felt that it had a fine chance of approximating it under its present auspices. Lord Westbury was followed by the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, who made a very vigorous speech, in the course of which he declared his conviction that the intellectual standard of Fellowships at Balliol—the best college in this country—as elsewhere, would continue to be lowered so long as they were limited to persons in holy orders. After an address of thanks to the chairman by the Marquis of Lansdowne, the company entered another apartment, and the remainder of the evening was passed in informal intercourse.

DR. VANCE SMITH AND THE BISHOPS.—It may be well to state in a few words the result of the discussions in Convocation last week on the Biblical Revision Committee. The Lower House by a small majority has postponed its reply to the Bishop of Winchester's resolution sent down from the Upper House until the Revision Committee have made their report, which seems, in fact, a parliamentary way of shelving the resolution *sine die*. Mr. Vance Smith is not to be expelled as one of the revisionists of the New Testament Company, and the Bishop of St. David's, without publicly withdrawing his resignation, has consented to remain as President of the Old Testament Company. It is not the first time that men have created for themselves a Frankenstein before which they have fallen in abject terror, but for such men the public have no sympathy, and if the

persevere—(cheers)—until the Church had been set free. He believed there was a general spirit of true Christian truth in the hearts of the men of this country—a general spirit and desire that Christian liberty might prevail. He believed that, so far from being a diffusion of the spirit of infidelity among the people, there was, on the contrary, more earnest and sincere faith in Christian truth than there ever was before. (Cheers.) He believed that sincerity of the people in Christian truth was expressing itself in every way by efforts to clear the ground of every legal impediment which hindered progress, and he fully expected that before they had full accomplished the work they had in hand, so far from its being regarded by the Church of England as a blow aimed at them, it would be regarded by them as a new opening to liberty and usefulness, and that they would go in with them and possess the land. (Cheers.) Under those circumstances he felt encouraged to persevere. (Hear, hear.) During the thirty years and upwards that he had given his attention to that subject, he had seen all the main arguments by which the State-Church system had rooted itself in the public mind cut asunder by facts—all the theories which gave it a hold upon the conscience and affection pitilessly exposed. The Anglican Church, as far as it was a State Church established by law, had no *raison d'être*, except in the past. It stood amongst them for no other reason in the world than that it had stood so long. If that were the case, he said it was high time for them, as intelligent and rational people—as people who professed to have an attachment to the Christian religion—to put an end to an institution which stood only because it had stood in the past, and which had really—logically speaking—lost the strength and stay of its life. Really, if they could only break the corn within which the life and religion of the State Church was included, and let it free, he had not the smallest doubt that the future would be far more beautiful and glorious in regard to Christianity than it had been before within their experience or observation; and when the time had fully arrived for the true principles of the Gospel pervading all classes of society, it would be the time in which the work in which they were now engaged would be most thoroughly appreciated and most highly honoured. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. A. MACKENNAL said he had great pleasure in proposing—

That a copy of the resolution just now adopted be sent to the members for the borough, with the earnest hope that Mr. Miall's motion will receive their hearty support and votes in the House of Commons.

It must be a great pleasure to Mr. Miall to reflect that, from the town of Leicester, he would receive the support of two members who, without being asked, had pledged themselves to adopt the course they were about to ask them to do in that resolution. But notwithstanding that they were already prepared to support Mr. Miall, and that they knew it, the passing of the resolution was no mere form. The Liberal party in the House of Commons was so thoroughly one, that a resolution sent up to two members like those for the borough of Leicester would have the same effect as if sent up to the whole of the members on the Liberal side of the House. It was his opinion that the country should make its voice heard long and loud and persistently on this question. He was not at all in doubt as to what would be the practical issue, because he knew the best part of Mr. Gladstone's nature was with them, and that it was only in consequence of the superficial and technical circumstances around that led to the opposition the friends of religious liberty were experiencing from him. It was, however, his (the speaker's) opinion that, before the question was finally settled, they would find Mr. Gladstone working with them. He thought they ought to make it clearly understood that they had made up their minds on this point, and that they did not intend to be turned away by opposition; but that they intended to fight their own battle, relying upon their advocacy of religious freedom, without wishing to be under any obligation either to the House of Lords, or to the Conservative party. They had not met with such courteous treatment at their hands in times gone by, as to recognise in them opponents in whom they could place reliance to carry measures into effect which they believed would be for the welfare of the country. His friend Mr. Williams had spoken to them of members of the House of Commons feeling it to be a burden and trouble to have to discuss ecclesiastical questions. He was confident that members of Nonconformist churches, not only in this town, but throughout the whole of the country, felt aversion to the obligation imposed upon them of dragging before the public the internal affairs of another Christian community, and speaking of them upon political platforms. They would rather not come there and detail the number of reasons why the Church of England should be disestablished, for it was very difficult indeed to do so in such a manner as did not seem as though they were making charges against the Church itself, but as long as the Church remained a State Establishment, they were bound to oppose it, because they were responsible for its continuance as such, and, while they were so, they were bound to make efforts to deprive it of State-aid. (Applause.)

Mr. W. STANYON, in seconding the resolution, stated that one reason why he hoped Mr. Miall's motion would be successful, was that it would relieve members of Parliament of much labour which was now constantly arising on different ecclesiastical questions. When the disendowment and disestablishment of all State Churches had been brought about, he thought they would have less labour, and more time to devote to the many important matters that were constantly requiring attention.

The Rev. J. WOOD moved:—

That the most cordial thanks of this meeting are hereby presented to Edward Miall, Esq., M.P., and J. Carvell Williams, Esq., for their presence and eloquent addresses on the present occasion.

He had no doubt that the resolution would meet with a cordial reception, for even those who did not approve of Mr. Miall's motion could not but feel thankful to him for having given them an opportunity of hearing so able an exposition of his sentiments. The other day he (the writer) stood opposite one of the posters convening the meeting, which was being read by two gentlemen, and one of them said—"What inconceivable fools—(laughter)—these fellows are to think they can ever disestablish the Church of England." (Renewed laughter.) Well, he did not know what an inconceivable fool was, but if it meant one who was in favour of the disestablishment, he should be glad to be one of them. (Applause.) This question of disestablishment had, for the last thirty years, been advocated by men who, for their nobility of nature and true-heartedness, deserved the respect of Englishmen, and he might say, with regard to Mr. Miall, that gentleman had never failed to advocate the cause—even in the face of considerable obloquy, he had persisted in his work, hopeful of bringing his labours to a successful issue. (Applause.)

Mr. W. BAINES seconded the vote of thanks, remarking that he hoped to live to see the day when the State Church would be disestablished, and the Rev. R. HARLEY briefly supported the vote.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation, and having been briefly responded to, a vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

WOOLWICH.

A public meeting in support of the disestablishment motion was held at Woolwich last Wednesday. Mr. George Potter, of London, presided, and in the course of his introductory speech read the following letter which he had received from a curate of the Church of England:—

Sir,—You have been so often blamed for patronising strikes, that you will doubtless read with some interest the following communication:—

There is one branch of labour to which I belong in which strikes are prohibited. I will state the facts carefully. I am permitted to work *by license only*, and this license limits me to a particular sphere. Before I can obtain this license I am compelled to obtain a certificate from three employers, that I have neither done nor written anything against the interest of the masters. At forty or forty-five I am of little service on account of age. I am, in spite of all this, forbidden by law to leave this line of work and adopt another. Can you wonder that I and the class to which I belong are miserably underpaid, and that we have not the power of resistance? You will ask me what I am. I am a curate.

Whenever any of your friends deplore the evils of combination, remind them of our history and our present position. Remind them of our sufferings, which we hope now to have a chance of removing, and let them be thankful that they have the power of combined resistance.

You may make what use you think fit of this letter.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A CURATE WHO REMEMBERS THE NECESSITY OF A LICENSE.

Referring to the salaries of bishops and the cost of cathedral services, Mr. Potter said that working men would determine from that night that such should cease. The Church of England had not done anything in the way of education. Some of the best workmen in that town and others were unable to write their names, and yet they had to contribute to the maintenance of the Church of England. Everything that tended to worldliness existed in the Church of England—(cheers)—and she had failed in her duty. (Hear.) If the good men in the Church wanted to teach pure and undefiled religion, they would do what they could to release her from the State. Religion should be above the State, and not under it. (Cheers.) The working men of Woolwich had that night inaugurated a movement destined to succeed, and to succeed speedily. The religious people had much to do; they must work outside of their religious bodies, and while they looked upon it as a religious matter, its keystone was essentially political. (Applause.) He would call upon J. Firth Bottomley, Esq., barrister-at-law, to give an address.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY, who was received with loud applause, then delivered an address on the necessity of disestablishment, which was very cordially received. At the close,

Mr. EBENEZER DAVIS moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting, having regard to the whole course of recent legislation in ecclesiastical matters, to the favourable reception which all bills, having for their object the securing of perfect religious equality for all, have met with in the Commons House of Parliament, and the decided and repeated majorities by which most of them have been passed by the people's representatives; also bearing in mind the general tone of public opinion in regard to the principle of disestablishment, and being convinced that the adherents of Established Churches in Great Britain are in the minority, and that the special status and privilege accorded their clergy is wrong, unprincipled, and unjust in operation,

Hereby expresses its hearty satisfaction that Mr. Edward Miall has given notice in the House of Commons that he will move—

That it is expedient at the earliest practicable period to apply the policy of disestablishment initiated by the Irish Church Act of 1869 to the other Churches established by law in the United Kingdom,

And further pledges itself to give him its earnest support.

Mr. DOUGLAS CUMMING urged that if they did their utmost to disestablish the Church, they should do their utmost to turn out Ritualism. The Articles of the Church of England were in accordance with the Bible. (A voice—"Baptismal regeneration!" laughter, and great uproar.) A nation believing in God should have religious instruction in every village. It would not matter much in Woolwich or Plumstead if the Church were disestablished. —(laughter)—but there were places where great hardships would be inflicted by disestablishment. (Applause.)

Dr. BAXTER LANGLEY said they were asked why they wished to interfere with the Church. The true position was, why did the Church interfere with them? (Applause.) The Church had interfered with them so far that they had dared to take the goods from the people. and even the bed from under them. ("Shame.") Mr. Cumming, whose earnestness he admired, had said that they should combine to put out the Ritualists. That was not right. It was based on the principle that Mr. Mackonochie was not as sincere in his views as they in that room were. The Liberation Society had its support simply because he believed that it was every man's right to hold his individual opinions. On the grounds of political liberty, he ignored the idea of public money being appropriated for propagating the religious doctrines of one particular sect or party. (Cheers and applause.)

The resolution was carried, with but two dissentients, and amid loud applause.

Mr. W. DAVIS moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting, desiring that Mr. Miall should be strongly supported by a full expression of public opinion in favour of disestablishment, resolves:—That a copy of the resolution just passed be sent to Sir David Salomons, Bart., the senior representative of this borough, with a request that he will not fail to give Mr. Miall his support, and further that he will inform the House of the feeling of his constituents as expressed in public meeting.

After speaking in support of the resolution for a short time, Mr. GEORGE WHALE, jun., rose and seconded the motion. A gentleman in the meeting moved an amendment that Mr. Gladstone's name should be included in the resolution. This was agreed to by the mover, and the resolution thus amended was carried almost unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the chairman and the deputation, J. Firth Bottomley, Esq., was carried with acclamation.

At the conclusion of the meeting three hearty cheers were given for Mr. Miall.

ROCHDALE.—Last Thursday a meeting of the Young Men's Auxiliary was held in the Public Hall. Mr. James Ashworth presided, and Mr. James Petrie, J.P.; the Rev. G. S. Reany, of Warrington; the Rev. J. Oddy, the Rev. H. W. Parkinson, Mr. Kearley, and Mr. John Ashworth, spoke. Motions relative to University Tests and disestablishment were adopted.

OTHER LIBERATION MEETINGS.—The recent meetings and lectures of the Society have been too numerous for us to report in detail. On the 22nd of February Mr. Carvell Williams addressed a good meeting at Market Harboro'. Last week the Rev. W. J. Callaway lectured at Ilkeston, Melbourne, Ripley, and Belper. The Rev. M. Miller has lectured at Nottingham, Market Rasen, and Brigg; and the Rev. J. H. Gordon at Spennymoor, Hurworth, and Cockerton; and the Rev. W. Best at Bradford. The Derby Committee have held two young men's conferences, and meetings have been held at Middlesbro', Golcar, and Kirkstall. The following lectures were to be held at the end of February or the beginning of March:—By the Rev. G. W. Conder at Northampton, Bradford, Kettering, Tonbridge, and Maidstone; by the Rev. W. Best at Sheffield. Meetings were to be held at Emley, Clayton West, Cambridge, Peterborough, Wolverhampton, and Nottingham. A meeting is also to be held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, shortly.

THE PRESBYTERIAN UNION MOVEMENT.

What may be called the Union campaign in the Free Church, writes the *Weekly Review*, is now nearly over. A vast majority of the presbyteries have discussed the Union question and given their decision. The result is that the Union party has gained an immense triumph; while the anti-Unionists have been defeated in all directions but one, and that one lies among the mists of the remoter Highlands. Unconstitutional agitation, the arts of literary aspersion, and threats of secession or disruption, have only damaged their cause, as such weapons might have been expected to do. The firmness of the presbyteries and the good sense of the Free Church people over the country have resisted everything that was intended to stifle discussion and prevent an honest expression of opinion. Up to this time about forty presbyteries, and these by far the most important in the Free Church, have declared in favour of Union, while only about six or seven have taken the opposite side. About twenty presbyteries have yet to give their decision, but the existing majority in favour of Union will only be increased as the returns come in. So far as the voice of the Free Church is concerned the principle of Union is secured, and, consequently, the consummation of Union is only a question of time.

We learn from the Edinburgh papers that the opponents of the Union movement met in force in the Scottish capital last week. The meeting was "large, influential, and most enthusiastic." The speaking was sustained by the Revs. Dr. Horatius Bonar, A. M. Bannatyne, Mr. Mackay (Inverness), Hugh Martin, Mr. Nixon, and Dr. Begg and several lay Free Churchmen. Large quotations were made from the letters, &c., of Dr. Chalmers as to the duty of continuing to maintain the Establishment principle after the great secession as before it; and strong determination was expressed to continue firm to the old principles of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Begg

said:—The Free Church is threatened with extinction by being merely incorporated with the U.P. Church; and (paraphrasing the well-known lines) we, the people of Scotland, may say:—

"And shall the Free Church die?
And shall the Free Church die?
One hundred thousand Free Churchmen
Will know the reason why."

(Loud applause.)

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TESTS BILL.

(From the *Liberator*.)

We last month described the arrangement which had been entered into between the Government and the representatives of the Nonconformists in regard to the College Fellowships, and now we can point to the practical result. Each party was to take its own course—the former declining to extend the provisions of the bill, and the latter recording their protest against the omission of the clerical fellowships. The effect was seen in the two divisions which took place in committee, and is shown yet more clearly by a comparison of those divisions with the divisions of 1870 on precisely the same amendments. Thus, on the amendment of Mr. Stevenson, to include the Divinity Degree, the numbers were:—

	1870.	1871.
For	100 ..	140
Against	262 ..	185
Majority against	161 ..	45

On the more important amendment relating to the fellowships, the numbers were:—

	1870.	1871.
For	79 ..	160
Against	157 ..	181
Majority against	78 ..	22

The fact is, that, whether their policy in this matter was good or bad, the Government have been unsupported by any section of their party, either in the House or in the press; and, if the friends of religious equality had desired it, they could have converted a small victory into a complete defeat.

THE BRIGHTON RITUAL CASE.

This well-known case came up on Thursday for judgment before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The plaintiff in this case was Mr. Hibbert, formerly a colonial magistrate, and the defendant the Rev. James Purchas, incumbent of St. James's, Brighton. In the Court of Arches Sir R. Phillimore condemned Mr. Purchas in consequence of his use of certain observances in his church, but allowed others. In the case of others he held that Mr. Purchas had not offended. Mr. Purchas did not appeal, but Mr. Hibbert appealed on those points which were against him.

The Lord Chancellor, in delivering judgment, reviewed at great length "the ornaments rubric," and the "advertisements" of Queen Elizabeth, quoting the Parker correspondence, Cardwell's "Conferences," and a large number of other authorities on the point. Their lordships decided that Mr. Purchas had offended against ecclesiastical law by wearing the chasuble, alb, and tunicle, during the communion service. With regard to the 16th article, charging Mr. Purchas with mixing water with the wine at the Holy Communion, their lordships directed that a monition must issue against him. With regard to the charge referring to wafer-bread, their lordships were of opinion that the rubric directed that the best wheaten bread should be used at the Holy Communion, and that it should be provided by the churchwardens. It was hard to see why pure wheaten bread should be provided by the parish if it were allowable for wafer-bread to be provided by the priest from other sources. On this point their lordships would advise that pure wheaten bread alone should be used at the communion. With regard to the 17th article, which charged Mr. Purchas with violating the rubric by standing with his back to the people while consecrating the elements, and the Dean of Arches had held that it was not necessary that the congregation should "see" that part of the ceremony—the question arose upon this point, which was the north side of the communion table, as mentioned in the rubric? Some ingenious arguments had been used on this point, with a view to show that the north side of the altar was that portion of the west side which was nearest to the north, but their lordships held that the north side was that which looked towards the north, and that Mr. Purchas therefore had violated the rubric in standing with his back to the people during the consecration of the elements, thus preventing the people from seeing him. Mr. Purchas seemed to have violated the letter and the spirit of the rubric. Their lordships directed that Mr. Purchas should pay all the costs in this court and in the court below.

Mr. Mackonochie took part in the services at St. Alban's, Holborn, on Sunday. He wore chasuble, alb, and tunic, and stood with his back to the people while consecrating the elements. The sermon was preached by one of the curates, who said it would soon be impossible for any "Catholic priest" to remain in the Church; but they would not acknowledge the right of a secular tribunal to pronounce judgment. Come what might, they would bow the knee to no Protestant Baal. Rather than render homage to the image which Nebuchadnezzar the King had set up, they would go into the furnace; but let it be known they did not intend to leave the Church of England. They cling to the See of Canterbury with the energy of men clinging for life.

The *Church Review* says of the Purchas judgment:—"Thursday's judgment of the Judicial Committee forms so startling and decided an epoch in the history of the Established Church of England, that it is to be regarded as the beginning rather than the continuation of a great struggle. No doubt the judgment was honestly concocted; yet no one could have concocted it unless his ruling motive had been a desire to crush out 'Ritualism,' and that Ritualism interpreted in its widest sense."

The *Record* regards the judgment "as the judicial overthrow of ultra-Ritualism."

The *Church Times* looks at it in quite another light, saying:—"We cannot but regard the whole business as a plot to drive the Catholic party out of the Church of England. We may at once state, therefore, that the Catholic party sees the game of its foes too clearly to play into their hands. We shall not go; and if the results of this last scheme should be more unpleasant to the Bishops and the Church Association than anything that has yet happened, they have only themselves to thank for it."

The *Church Herald* says of the judgment:—"In the exhibition of ignorance, in subtle crookedness, and in intrinsic absurdity, it surpasses all previous performances of our Highest Ecclesiastical Court of Appeal. The judgment, however, has its lessons. On us who are more careful to maintain sound Catholic principles than to insist on the importance of this or that external, it falls comparatively lightly. We have never thought of confounding the true religion with apparel and incense-pots. To the mere Ritualist the judgment is almost a threat of annihilation. Such should learn from it the wisdom of moderation and the advantage of avoiding unnecessary provocation. But there is one thing which this judgment should impress upon all of us, and that is the absolute importance of at once getting rid of this hateful Court. . . . Another lesson is the hopelessness of expecting that the E.C.U. will ever do anything effectually to defend the Catholic character of the Church of England. Here it is in full swing, with large means and a gigantic and complicated machinery, and what has it done in protection of our rights as Catholic Churchmen? Nothing at all. Under its ascendancy the thickest blows have been falling on the Church, and no means have been taken to parry them. All the E.C.U. has done yet has been to inoculate many of the clergy with Liberalism, and to take their influence from the support of Conservatism to that of Mr. Gladstone."

THE BURIALS BILL.—Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., was to move the second reading of the Burials Bill at the morning sitting to-day, and Colonel Bartelott, M.P., to move its rejection.

THE IRISH CHURCH.—A meeting, having for its aim the increase of the Irish Church Sustenation Fund, was held on Wednesday, the Earl of Harrowby in the chair. Letters from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were read, expressing deep sympathy with the object in view, and offering their assistance. It was decided that a committee should be at once formed.

THE ROYAL MARRIAGE AND LENT.—The Princess Louise is to be married on the 21st March, and the *Guardian* is in despair over a Lent festival. One of the most powerful arguments, it says, for an Established Church is the "indirect influence it exercises over that large area of society which lies between the inner circle of the devout and the multitude of the unattached outside the consecrated ground,"—and here is Royalty exercising its influence in a sense opposite to that of the Church, so as to set this intermediate circle more free to take its own way! This piety of the "intermediate circle," which is thus a resultant of the forces of Church opinion acting in one line of direction and of Royal example in another, does not strike us as likely to be of a very impressive kind, even if the two forces were to coalesce.—*Spectator*.

ECCLESIASTICAL BILLS.—The provisions of two ecclesiastical bills which have been brought into the House of Commons have been published. One is Mr. West's bill, to declare and amend the law as to the rights of parishioners in respect of their parish churches; and for other purposes relating thereto. It seeks to declare that churches are to be for the equal use of all parishioners; it would abolish faculties, and forbid the allotment, assignment, or appropriation of any seats in parish churches. One clause directs the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to accept sites for free and unappropriated churches. The other bill is brought in by Mr. Salt to amend and define the law relating to private chapels and to chapels belonging to colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums, and other public institutions. It provides that a Bishop may license any such chapel, and that the officiating minister shall be subject to no control or interference on the part of the incumbent of the district in which the chapel is situate. The minister is to have the disposal of the offertory.

THE PURCHASE SYSTEM IN THE CHURCH.—With the abolition of the purchase system in the army, we may look for the abolition before long of the purchase system in the Church. The traffic in the "next presentation" to livings may be legitimate, but it offends weaker brethren, and considering how many of our brethren are becoming weaker every day, the sooner the practice of advertising the infirmities of aged incumbents who tarry too long in their comfortable berths—or, to speak more correctly, their "spheres of usefulness"—is put an end to, the better. Now that under the new scheme of army reform no man will be allowed to superintend the killing of his fellow-creatures officially merely because he has money in his purse, we can hardly continue to allow Dives to purchase the privilege of superintending the spiritual welfare of Lazarus. In fact, the slaughter of bodies and the salvation of souls must be placed on the same footing. A parish full of sinners is no doubt a great luxury, but is far too sacred a subject for the auctioneer's hammer, and a new lock must be devised for the pulpit which cannot be picked by a golden key.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S FUND.—The annual meeting of the board of management of the Bishop of London's Fund was held on Monday at the offices in Pall Mall under the presidency of the bishop. The report stated that the total sum received since the formation of the fund had been 420,000*l*. An outline of the work of the fund since its commencement showed that of 81 missions established with the fund, 20 had been endowed as new parishes, 7 had been transferred to the Rochester diocese, and 35 were still maintained at the cost of the fund; 18 parochial curates, 29 Scripture-readers, and 23 parochial mission women were still wholly or partially maintained by it. Grants had also been made for a number of parsonages, schools, mission stations, and new churches. As to future wants, it was stated that there were now twenty-two districts requiring churches, for ten of which sites had still to be provided. The Bishop of London pointed out that the subscriptions received last year amounted to 28,000*l*.—a larger sum than in any previous year. Their operations during the period had been somewhat interfered with by the Education Act, and the Board had felt it necessary to discount the demand that would be made upon them by a large grant amounting to nearly 20,000*l*.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE POPE.—The correspondence respecting the affairs of Rome, 1870-1, was issued on Thursday night. It extends from July 19 to Jan. 13. Under date August 21, Earl Granville writes to Mr. Jervoise, at Rome, referring to the possibility that His Holiness may turn his thoughts towards a temporary refuge in some possession of the British Crown, "I need scarcely say that Her Majesty's Government have no desire for such a result, and would not wish to offer spontaneously to receive the Pope in any part of Her Majesty's dominions. Her Majesty's Government would certainly not refuse if requested by the Pope to afford His Holiness an immediate asylum on board one of Her Majesty's ships of war, and having ascertained his wishes as to the place he would desire to proceed to, they would consider how far those wishes, if they pointed to his temporary residence in any place within Her Majesty's dominions, could properly be complied with." At Earl Granville's request, the Admiralty sent instructions to Captain Salmon, of Her Majesty's ship Defence, to place himself in communication with Mr. Jervoise, at Civita Vecchia, with this view. Other portions of the correspondence relate to saluting the Italian flag at Civita Vecchia, and to steps taken to protect the property of British ecclesiastical institutions in Rome. Sir George Bowyer expresses gratitude for the just and liberal course which Her Majesty's Government had pursued in this matter.

PROFESSOR JOWETT.—A large number of the friends of Professor Jowett assembled to meet him on Friday at a dinner at the Albion, Aldersgate-street. Among those present were Lord Westbury, the Bishop of Exeter, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Houghton, the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Professor Huxley, Mr. Robert Browning, Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Hon. Lyulph Stanley, Professor Nichols, of Glasgow; Mr. Thomas Woolner, Mr. M. D. Conway, and others, to the number of 142 in all. The Dean of Westminster presided, and in proposing the health of the Master of Balliol, alluded in touching terms to the long friendship which had subsisted between them, and their travels together. Professor Jowett was received with prolonged cheering. He gave a very interesting sketch of the later history of Balliol, and mentioned the names of many of its distinguished sons. Mr. Arthur Hobhouse expressed the greetings of the old members of Balliol for the visitors present, and called upon Lord Westbury, who replied in a very humorous speech. In the course of it he remarked that the Universities were originally meant to represent the intelligence of the country, not to be the property of a denomination. Though he could not say that even at Balliol knowledge now rose to the same level as in the world outside, yet he felt that it had a fine chance of approximating it under its present auspices. Lord Westbury was followed by the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, who made a very vigorous speech, in the course of which he declared his conviction that the intellectual standard of Fellowships at Balliol—the best college in this country—as elsewhere, would continue to be lowered so long as they were limited to persons in holy orders. After an address of thanks to the chairman by the Marquis of Lansdowne, the company entered another apartment, and the remainder of the evening was passed in informal intercourse.

DR. VANCE SMITH AND THE BISHOPS.—It may be well to state in a few words the result of the discussions in Convocation last week on the Biblical Revision Committee. The Lower House by a small majority has postponed its reply to the Bishop of Winchester's resolution sent down from the Upper House until the Revision Committee have made their report, which seems, in fact, a parliamentary way of shelving the resolution *sine die*. Mr. Vance Smith is not to be expelled as one of the revisionists of the New Testament Company, and the Bishop of St. David's, without publicly withdrawing his resignation, has consented to remain as President of the Old Testament Company. It is not the first time that men have created for themselves a Frankenstein before which they have fallen in abject terror, but for such men the public have no sympathy, and if the

bishops have made themselves ridiculous by their bigotry and their weakness, they have been justly punished by the humiliation which had fallen upon them. They have succeeded in overshadowing the first Westminster scandal by a second, which cannot be so readily forgotten. The next meeting of the Revision Committee is on Wednesday next, and Dr. Vance Smith, who is to be the guest of the Dean of Westminster, will take his seat as if nothing had occurred, notwithstanding the resolution of the bishops. We rejoice to be able to assure our readers that the report in the evening papers of last Saturday respecting Dr. Smith's ill-health was unfounded, and that our friend is in better health and spirits than usual.—*Inquirer.*—[The seventh session of the New Testament Revision Company commenced yesterday. The Bishop of Salisbury occupied the chair. There were nineteen members present, including Mr. Vance Smith, whose health is sufficiently re-established to enable him to take part in the revision. The Dean of Ely (Dr. Merivale) was present, having filled the vacancy occasioned by the lamented death of Dean Alford.]

The Scotch Education Bill.—On Friday a special meeting of the Established Presbytery of Edinburgh was held, for the purpose of considering the Education Bill for Scotland; the Rev. Dr. Wallace, moderator. The following report by the Education Committee of the Presbytery was read:—"The committee object to the bill in general—(1) because it is essentially a secular bill, and not only provides no security for the maintenance of the religious element in education, but removes all existing security, and actually tends to discourage the teaching of religion; (2) because it revolutionises the parish schools, and destroys the connection subsisting hitherto between the Church and the parish school; (3) because it substitutes, for a system under which the voluntary efforts of the friends of education are encouraged, another by which the schools will be supported and superintended by boards of ratepayers, whose interest it will be, as far as possible, to maintain the schools at the lowest possible expenditure, and so to lower the standard of education. The committee, besides, are of opinion that it is not desirable that a body possessed of such exclusive powers as the Department of Education shall be placed in England, where they will be removed from the influence of Scottish public opinion, and be led to assimilate the standard of education in Scotland to that now existing in England. They consider the powers of dismissal of teachers entrusted to the Privy Council are excessive, and that there ought to be a power of appeal reserved for teachers to a court of law. In particular, they object to the enactment by which the present teachers of parish and burgh schools are removed from the position of holding their office *ad vitam aut culpam* to that of holding their offices at the pleasure of a board seated in London. They express a fear that the action of the bill will impose a great and increasing burden on the country. They direct attention also to the difference as to the initiative of inquiry between this bill and the English Education Bill; and to the fact that, by Clause 8, the parish ministers of Scotland will be disqualified from taking part in the election of a school board." On the motion of the Rev. H. W. Smith, Kirknewton, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Nisbet, Edinburgh, the report was unanimously adopted. It was agreed to petition the House of Commons in terms of the report.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Birmingham papers note the death of the Rev. Timothy East, one of the oldest of the English Congregational ministers. He was eighty-eight when he died.

The Rev. W. Cope has resigned the pastorate of the Baptist Church, Oakham, having accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Baptist Church, Greenfield, Llanelly.

The Rev. W. M. Punshon, M.A., is contemplating a trip to British Columbia and Vancouver's Island. He will visit the various mission stations on the Pacific coast, and will call at San Francisco and Salt Lake City. There is also a rumour of his intention to visit England during the summer.

Surrey Chapel is at present undergoing cleansing and repairs, the congregation, meanwhile, worshipping at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly.

Lambeth Baths Meetings.—The present season, which has been one of the most successful of the series, will now shortly close. Some important meetings have yet, however, to be held in connection with the Christian Instruction Society, the Working Men's Lord's-day Rest Association, and the Contagious Diseases Act (Repeal) Association. A hundred and fourteen meetings have already been held during the past winter, and the attendance has been uniformly good.

Eccleston-square.—On Tuesday evening, Feb. 21, a public service was held in Eccleston-square Congregational Church, for the purpose of recognising the Rev. J. Hiles Hitchens as the pastor. The service was opened by devotional exercises conducted by the Rev. E. H. Jones, of Trevor Chapel, Brompton. The Rev. A. McMillan, of Bayswater, then delivered an address on "The nature and responsibilities of the Christian Ministry." The recognition prayer was offered by the Rev. Samuel Martin. Then followed an address on "The duties and obligations of the Church and Congegation," by the Rev. J. Guinness Rogers, B.A., of Clapham. Special prayer was offered by the Rev. Robert Robinson, secretary of the London Missionary Society. The Rev. Samuel Minton, M.A., incumbent of Eaton Chapel, after expressions of fraternal welcome to the new pastor, gave an address on "The relations and duties of one church to another." The Revs. Dr. Cooper, A. D. Spong, and T. Carter took part in the service.

Primrose-hill.—A new Baptist chapel was opened in Berkeley-road, Primrose-hill, on Feb. 15. In the afternoon a sermon was preached by the Rev. W. Landels, D.D. A public tea, attended by over 300 persons, was afterwards held, at which M. A. Garvey, Esq., LL.D., presided, and addresses were given by the Revs. A. G. Brown, P. Gast, C. Starling, Mr. Harman, and the pastor, G. T. Edgley. In the evening the Rev. A. G. Brown preached. On the following Lord's day, sermons were preached by the Rev. J. O. Fellowes, by the Rev. W. Stott, and the Rev. J. Angus, D.D., and the services were well attended. The proceeds amounted to nearly 50*l*. This chapel has been erected for the church and congregation formerly meeting at Pensee Tabernacle under the pastorate of the Rev. G. T. Edgley.

Shaftesbury.—The annual meeting of the Congregational Church, Shaftesbury, was held on Wednesday evening last, February 22, when the members and subscribers assembled to celebrate the extinction of a debt of 220*l*. incurred by the Chapel Improvement Committee. The financial statement showed that since the accession of the Rev. G. J. Woodward to the pastorate, now a year and a half ago, the church and congregation have contributed or collected for every purpose upwards of 600*l*., and this in a small Dorsetshire town, in which there are five Episcopalian churches, and where all the clergymen are decidedly Evangelical. During the same period large and gratifying accessions have been made to the fellowship of the church, and as expressions of religious life, various organisations have been instituted, of the condition and working of which very favourable reports were presented.

Missionary Ordination.—At Paddington Chapel, on the evening of Wednesday, Feb. 22, the Rev. J. A. Houlder was set apart to the missionary work in Madagascar, in connection with the London Missionary Society. The Rev. G. D. McGregor, the pastor of the church, presided, and commenced the service with reading the Scriptures and prayer. The Rev. W. Ellis described the field of labour; after which the Rev. Robert Moffat gave a brief address. The usual questions were then put to Mr. Houlder by the Rev. Dr. Mullens, to which full and appropriate answers were returned. The Rev. Dr. Halley offered the ordination prayer, and the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw delivered the charge. Besides the ministers who took part in the service, there were present the Revs. W. Beynon, J. Barker, LL.B.; J. S. Russell, M.A.; J. Addyman, and others. There was a large attendance, the chapel being filled to overflowing; and the service was altogether of a deeply interesting and impressive character.

Broad Green Congregational Church, Croydon.—A recognition service in connection with the settlement as pastor of this church of the Rev. T. Gilfillan was held on Tuesday evening, Feb. 21. F. J. Sargood, Esq., occupied the chair and after a devotional service, led by the Rev. S. Parkinson, he proceeded to detail the steps by which the church, on being deprived of the able services of the Rev. A. Hannay, was led to desire those of the Rev. T. Gilfillan, of Aberdeen. In the name of the church, he begged to assure Mr. Gilfillan of a hearty welcome to his new sphere. Mr. Gilfillan, in responding, said that, Scotchman though he was, he did not feel himself "the Scot abroad," but, with so many dear old friends about him, very much at home. He would not trouble them with a statement of his doctrinal beliefs, as they would appear in more satisfactory form while he plied his pulpit labours. Nor would he detain them with a long programme of his pastoral intentions for years to come, as it might, for aught he knew, rise in judgment against him at some future day. But he must take this opportunity of thanking the church for the thorough unanimity with which they had invited him to the pastorate, and for the cordial reception with which they met him on his appearance among them. Mr. Gilfillan then proceeded to give his views of his work as preacher and pastor, and to bespeak the prayer, sympathy, and co-operation of the people. The Rev. W. Clarkson having invoked the Divine blessing on pastor and people, the Rev. A. Hannay followed, in an address of quiet humour and grave eloquence. He had known Mr. Gilfillan for a longer time than he cared to mention, and had no doubt that, in him, Croydon had found the right man. Other addresses followed from the Revs. Messrs. Shedlock, Winter, T. G. Wilson, J. H. Wilson, E. Waite, &c., all expressive of congratulation and good wishes. The long and interesting meeting was brought to a close by the benediction, pronounced by the Rev. J. Poulter.

The Story of Hare-court Independent Congregation.—A lecture bearing this title was delivered on Friday night in the New Hall, Hare-court, Canonbury, by Mr. John B. Marsh. Mr. James Spicer occupied the chair. There was a large assemblage. Hare-court is the ancient name of the church now under the pastoral care of the Rev. Alexander Raleigh, D.D., who was present on the platform during the lecture. Mr. Marsh stated that there were very few facts known up to the time he entered upon the task of elucidating the early history of the church. In Calamy's Lives of Dissenting Ministers, he attributed the formation of Harecourt to George Cobrayn, who was ejected from Pancras, Soper-lane, about 1660. It was further stated that Cobrayn preached once before the House of Commons, and that after his ejectment the leading members of his congregation adhered to him, amongst whom were Tichborne, Ireton, Wilson, and Sir John Moore. With this slender clue Mr. Marsh has succeeded in tracing every incident of importance connected with the first minister, and the leading members of his congregation. The task is certainly one of comparative ease in the present day when the stores contained in the British Museum, the State papers, and the valuable records in all the great libraries are so pleasantly accessible. The points of the lecture may be summarised. George Cobrayn was born at Cople, Beds, in 1619; and obtained the B.A. degree at Cambridge in 1639. In 1646 he wrote the preface to a volume of sermons by Dr. Crispe; and in 1648 was appointed to Pancras, Soper-lane. He was a young man of great learning, and much natural eloquence. The congregation which he drew was large and influential, embracing many eminent men in the City, including three Lord Mayors, members of Parliament, and of the Council of State, besides a host of City merchants. Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, appointed Cobrayn his chaplain, and their friendship was maintained until the death of the former in 1676. A Colonel Rowland Wilson, Sheriff of London in 1649, a member of Pancras, died during his year of office, and twelve months afterwards Sir Bulstrode married the widow. The church now has in use four silver plates which bear the arms of Sir Bulstrode, and Mrs. Wilson, his third wife. In the sermon which Cobrayn preached before the House of Commons he directly counselled the execution of Charles I., and the preacher gave such satisfaction to the House that he was invited to preach again within a month. This was declined; and from 1648 Cobrayn devoted himself to the work of his church. The lecturer sketched the lives of some of the leading members of the congregation; amongst others Sir Robert Tichborne, Sir John Ireton, and Sir John Moore, Lord Mayors of London, and Samuel Wilson, a wealthy City merchant, and Benjamin Clarke, a dealer in fringed gloves, who kept a shop in Fleet-street. As the facts concerning these men were drawn from original sources, they naturally excited much interest. Tichborne sat upon the trial of Charles I., signed his death-warrant, was tried as a Regicide in 1660, and died, after twenty-two years' imprisonment, in the Tower. Sir John Ireton was more fortunate, but he suffered a term of imprisonment on the accession of Charles II. Sir John Moore was elected to the office of Lord Mayor by the influence of the Second Charles, and his corruption was plainly established by original letters found by Mr. Marsh amongst the uncalendised State papers. The adventures of Samuel Wilson were very exciting, and no less interesting were the relation of Clarke's treatment by the Council of State. Cobrayn was ejected from Pancras in 1660, under the Ministers' Bill, which required all the Independents to be reordained. For six years afterwards the incidents of his life were supplied by the information of spies who dodged him about London, and followed him on a country preaching tour. There were four informations sworn against Cobrayn in 1664, which showed that throughout the terrible plague he remained at his pastoral work in the City. From Soper-lane Cobrayn removed to Red Cross-street, where he resided from 1672 until his death in 1691. During the whole of this period Cobrayn preached to congregations in his own house, and also in the houses of his friends. There were at that time many eminent Nonconformists living in Moor-fields, Finsbury-fields, Cherrytree-alley, Bunhill, and in the lanes in the neighbourhood of the Artillery Ground. A church register found by the chairman (one of the church trustees) furnished the lecturer with a most interesting series of facts. One of the first deacons of the church was Mr. John Strudwick, a grocer, and member of the Clothworkers' Company, who resided on Snow-hill. While on a visit to him in 1688 John Bunyan died of a fever. At the time of his death Bunyan was revising the proof-sheets of a sermon, which Cobrayn afterwards completed and wrote a preface for it. Mr. Marsh suggested that in all probability Cobrayn buried Bunyan; and he claimed for the church the sacred boast that the great Pilgrim in his last illness was nursed by a deacon of the Harecourt Independent congregation. In 1691 Cobrayn died, and was buried in Bunhill-fields. He was succeeded by John Nesbitt, by whom the first chapel was erected in Hare court. Addison in a pleasant way hits off Nesbitt's characteristics, and Macaulay alludes to him in his History. The second chapel erected in Hare-court is now occupied by Messrs. Key and Whiteing, bookbinders, the congregation about sixteen years ago having removed to a more suitable district in Canonbury. An oil painting of Cobrayn was hung in the room during the lecture, and upon the table was the communion plate which had been presented by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, Sir Robert Tichborne, and others. On the proposition of Dr. Raleigh, seconded by Mr. John Shaw, a vote of thanks was presented to Mr. Marsh, and it was suggested that the MS. from which extracts had been read should be published. A vote of thanks was also accorded to the chairman for his services, and the meeting then separated.

Correspondence.

A RELIGIOUS CENSUS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Dear Sir,—Will you kindly allow me, through the medium of your paper, to suggest that the Free Churches of Great Britain and Ireland take their own attendance upon public worship on Lord's Day, April 2? It is one of those things we can readily do for ourselves, and, in my opinion, it ought to be done. Nor do I think it

impossible for us to organise a method whereby we may also ascertain the attendance at cathedrals, churches, schools, and other places where service is held according to the rites of the Church of England. I would then compare these with the increase of population since 1851, when statistics are issued, and then publish the result. We have decided to do it in our own little town, and I cannot see much difficulty in getting it done all over the country. Doubtless certain parties would question the accuracy of our numbers; but they could not prove the contrary; whereas, we could then confidently affirm what our condition was, a majority or a minority. Until such time as we can do this, Churchmen will appeal to the numerical position of parties at the Census of 1851, while we can only reply, We *believe* the scales to be turned. Of this we may rest assured, that we shall never get a proper religious Census if Churchmen can prevent it, lest their fears should be realised in this respect, and the political action of such politicians as the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., which evidently depends more upon majorities than principles, should be changed towards their Church. If then, this be true, the sooner we organise our forces and obtain a truer knowledge of our strength, the shorter will be our struggle, and the more easily will our triumph be realised. I shall be glad if I have only suggested an idea which a more able pen may elaborate, and which willing hearts and hands may bring to a useful issue.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
W. B. BEMBRIDGE.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

On Thursday the Earl of CARNARVON raised a brisk debate on this subject. He charged the Government with recklessly reducing the army at the very moment when they ought to have known that the whole soil of Europe was mined with secret dangers which might explode at any moment. It was not merely that the numbers of the army were unduly reduced, but that the skilled and scientific branches of the service—those who required most time to develop and could least easily be replaced—were especially chosen for reduction.

Lord NORTHBROOK practically repeated the vindication and explanation of the Ministerial policy which was offered in that assembly by the Secretary of State for War. He remarked that one point to which the Government attached great importance was that the Militia recruits should be thoroughly trained when they first entered the service. The proposal was that they should be trained for a period of three months after their enlistment.

The Duke of CAMBRIDGE, who was cordially cheered, assured the House that there was to be a real and effective addition to the artillery, both in men and guns. As to the preliminary training of the Militia, it was true that four months' training was found sufficient to prepare regulars for the ranks, but there was this important distinction that in the case of the regulars the recruits were placed side by side with old soldiers, while the Militia recruits were associated with men little better than themselves. He believed that General Moltke was of opinion that a man was not a first-rate soldier till he had served three years in the ranks, and that was the basis of our own Act of last year.

After a few remarks from the Duke of RICHMOND, chiefly directed against the abolition of purchase, Lord GREY joined in condemning compulsory service, and expressed a fear that the Government were making an injudicious appropriation of money in proposing the immediate abolition of the system of purchase. Moreover, he thought the 400,000*l.* which was to be spent on the Militia could be much more usefully applied in increasing the regular army; it would secure about 10,000 more men. In order to provide an efficient reserve, it was essential that the active army should for a time be kept up in excess of its permanent strength. Thus trained men would pass from the army into the reserve; it could then be considered a genuine and solid reserve, which it certainly was not at present.

After a few words from Lord DELAWARR, the motion, as amended, was agreed to, and their Lordships adjourned at a few minutes after ten o'clock.

On Friday the House sat for only a few minutes to appoint some committees and pass the Princess Louise's Annuity Bill and the Juries Act (1870) Amendment Bill.

OUR VAGRANTS.

On Monday, Lord KIMBERLEY, in moving the second reading of the Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation Bill, gave a sketch of the early and sometimes cruel statutes by which our ancestors endeavoured to control the ancient evil of vagrancy. He also adverted to the effect of the Houseless Poor Act of 1864 in increasing the number of vagrants in the London workhouses, and cited the statistics of vagrancy in the country districts. He saw objections to the proposal that the relief of vagrants should be left to the police, although they might be usefully employed to assist the relieving officer. The plan of giving way-tickets, which enabled Boards of Guardians to distinguish between honest wayfarers and professional tramps, was also objectionable, because it infringed the fundamental principle of Poor-law relief, gave an artificial stimulus to the migration of labour, and introduced a passport system for the labouring class which was unsuited to this country. For the repression of professional mendicancy it was necessary that vagrants should be treated on some uniform principle, and the bill enabled the Poor Law Board to make regulations as to diet, work, and lodging in all the workhouses, so that vagrants should not flock to particular districts where a lax discipline prevailed. The bill would also prevent vagrants from entering and leaving the workhouse at their pleasure, and would give power to detain confirmed vagrants until the third day after admission. It would also facilitate the establishment of wards or asylums in the metropolis and large towns, in which vagrants might be treated separately from the other paupers. These would be salutary improvements, which would, it might be hoped, check the evil of professional mendicancy, without causing a revulsion in the public mind by excessive severity.

Lord CARNARVON said that the system of way-tickets had almost cleared Hampshire of vagrants, and, if counties were to be thrown on their own resources, it was the best system yet tried. It was better, however, that the Government should deal broadly for the whole country by some such measure as the present.

The Duke of RICHMOND had great doubts about the system of way-tickets, unless they were adopted throughout the country. He much preferred the present bill, which would meet many of the difficulties experienced by Boards of Guardians in dealing with vagrants, and to which, therefore, he gave his cordial support.

Lord SALISBURY suggested that one difficulty in the way of honest wayfarers obtaining work—viz., the utter disproportion between railway fares and their means—might be got rid of if working men in search of employment would renounce their claim to compensation in case of accident. Railway companies would carry them very cheaply on such terms. Lord KIMBERLEY said that railway companies could not be allowed to kill as many labourers as they pleased, but a reasonable limit to their claim might be conceded in return for lower fares.

The bill was read a second time.

Lord HARROWBY, in asking for returns which would disprove the charges of mismanagement and extravagance brought against the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster in the other House, expressed his satisfaction at the withdrawal by Sir R. Peel of the charge of "corruption." Lord DUFFERIN went over the items of receipt and expenditure, in order to rectify any misapprehensions which Sir R. Peel's speech might have occasioned.

Their Lordships adjourned shortly before half-past six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LOSSES AT SEA.

Wednesday being Ash-Wednesday, the House did not meet till two o'clock, and the sitting was almost entirely occupied with the discussion of the Merchant Shipping Survey Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. PLIMSOLL in a speech of no less than an hour's duration. The hon. member for Derby commented with severity upon the bad condition in which ships are commonly sent to sea, and the too usual practice of overloading them; and while admitting that there are many honest shipowners, maintained that the dishonest or reckless ones are so numerous as to call for the interference of Parliament, by providing for the inspection of the condition of all ships before they are sent to sea. The motion was seconded by Mr. WHEELHOUSE, who attributed the great loss of life on our northern coasts to the absence of such a security as this measure would provide. Mr. EUSTACE SMITH and Mr. RATHBONE asked the House to reject the bill as unnecessary and injurious to honest trade, at the same time it might easily be evaded by dishonest traders. Mr. HENLEY condemned the measure as inopportune. Many persons regarded this bill merely as a humanity dodge to render the transport of coal by sea impossible, and thus favour the inland trade at the expense of those who dealt in seaborne coal. Mr. NORWOOD offered a most strenuous opposition to the bill, and characterised the statements of its author as "exaggerated, injudicious, and foolish." Mr. C. FORTESCUE fully acknowledged the humanity of the motives of the member for Derby in framing the measure, but objected that the means which he had suggested were not the best for the attainment of the end which he had in view, and declined to recommend the House to give the bill a second reading. The Merchant Shipping Bill, which the Government had introduced, dealt with the matter by providing for the ascertainment of the seaworthiness of ships, and the punishment as a misdemeanour of the offence of sending vessels to sea in an unseaworthy condition, and he believed that those provisions would be quite effectual. Mr. GRAVES maintained that it was the most impracticable and unworkable measure that had ever been introduced into that House. Mr. A. PEEL announced that if the Merchant Shipping Bill could not pass during the present session Mr. Fortescue would detach the clauses relating to the overloading of ships, and ask the House to assent to them as a separate measure; and thereupon Mr. Plimsoll at once withdrew his bill.

The County Property Bill was read a second time, and bills were brought in, by Mr. M'Laren, to abolish Church-rates in Scotland, and by Mr. H. B. Sheridan, for the protection of Lodgers' Goods.

The House adjourned at twenty minutes to six o'clock.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

On Thursday, in reply to Mr. Miller, Mr. FORSTER said that the opinion of Parliament had been clearly declared last year, that while, on the one hand, there should be liberty for religious instruction, there should, upon the other, be no payment out of the taxes towards religious instruction in schools; and although there was no mention of training schools in the Act, the Government felt it their duty to carry out that principle in their distribution of grants. Consequently, the training schools throughout England were informed that in future there would be no attempt on the part of the Government to inspect religious instruction, or to pay for it. Then they had to consider how they should treat Scotland, and they came to the conclusion that they must treat those schools on exactly the same footing as they treated similar schools in England.

In reply to Mr. Dimsdale, Mr. FORSTER said that in respect to the school-building grant there was an enormous number of applications to be dealt with. The year before last the number was 226, last year it was 3,300, of which 3,003 came in the last five months, and by far the largest proportion in the last month, while manny arrived almost on the last day of the year. As regards the general working of the Education Act, an extraordinary amount of labour had been imposed upon the department. More than 13,000 school returns had been already received since the passing of the Act.

In reply to Mr. Bagwell, the Marquis of HARTINGTON held out no hope of the present extension of the volunteer system to Ireland.

In reply to Sir G. Jenkinson, Mr. BRUCE said that he could not undertake to introduce a bill this year to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1866 on capital punishment.

The Marquis of HARTINGTON gave notice that, on the next Monday, he would move for a "Secret Committee" to inquire into the state of the counties of Westmeath and Meath and King's County, the existence of unlawful combinations there, and the best means of suppressing them. The announcement created much stir.

THE INDIAN COMMITTEE.

Mr. GLADSTONE, in moving a Select Committee on the Finance and Financial Administration of India, intimated that at the proper stage he would propose that it should be a joint committee of both Houses—eleven from each House. This would save time; and, moreover, the House of Lords was particularly strong in Indian authorities, and the House of Commons numerically weak in the official element, especially as Sir S. Northcote was away. The proposal of a joint committee was strongly opposed by Sir C. Wingfield, Mr. R. Fowler, Mr. A. Kinnaird, and Mr. Disraeli, on the ground that it would involve an acknowledgment of the authority of the House of Lords over matters of finance which the House of Commons had always jealously guarded as its own particular province. Ultimately Mr. Gladstone withdrew the suggestion of a joint inquiry, and the motion for the appointment of a committee was then agreed to.

UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL.

On the order of the day for reading this bill a third time,

Mr. FAWCETT stated that, in consequence of the question of clerical fellowships not having been raised on the bringing up of the report, the only means of reopening the question now would be to recommit the bill. He and his friends, however, did not propose to resort to that unusual course, because Her Majesty's Government having stated that their decision upon this point was irrevocable, a majority against them would be tantamount to throwing out the bill for this session. But in listening to the Government on this point for the present he by no means admitted the distinction drawn by the Solicitor-General between the abuses the bill corrected and the abuses connected with clerical fellowships; and he had no doubt that when these and other matters connected with the Universities came to be dealt with in the future with the object of bringing the Universities as far as possible within the reach of the greatest possible number of the population, the majority of the House would have occasion once more to condemn the piecemeal legislation of its predecessors.

Mr. GLADSTONE said his hon. friend appeared to think he had laid down a doctrine that the House of Commons was bound, when the House of Lords in one session referred a bill to a select committee, to send up to their Lordships the same bill again in another session. Now, in discussing that measure, he had invariably said that every independent member of the House was perfectly free to take whatever course he thought politic and right, and that the restriction which he held to apply to their action applied to the Executive Government alone. Then the hon. gentleman said that by the rejection of his amendment they retained clerical fellowships. That, he thought, was not an accurate description of the matter. When he placed that subject on the comparatively narrow ground of the position they stood in with reference to the House of Lords and to the parties promoting the bill, he forwent a very great advantage. Without meaning to be disrespectful, he said that, as far as the University of Oxford was

concerned, if the first amendment had been adopted, it would have been entirely nugatory. He did not believe that upon the statutes of the University it would have had the smallest effect, good, bad, or indifferent. As to the second amendment, he did not hesitate to congratulate the House upon its escape from it. It would have confirmed and aggravated the greatest abuse in the two Universities—namely, the existence of sinecure fellowships, permanently held—(Hear, hear)—a great stain, unquestionably, upon those institutions. Now, the obligation of taking orders, whatever else might be said of it, as a practical measure, had the effect of making many fellowships terminate at an early period, thereby preventing the multiplication and extension of those sinecure fellowships held without limit of time. As to religious instruction and worship, the effect of that amendment, though probably not its intention, would have been to remove all certain provision whatever for the maintenance even of Divine worship in the college chapels. Both he and his learned friend the Solicitor-General thought the question of fellowships ought not to be left to sleep. The tenure of fellowships was not a thing to be dealt with by a stroke of the pen. It was an old system, fortified by a number of conditions, which must be studied as a whole. Let them detach, if they could, the question of religious tests from that of general legislation upon fellowships. But, first of all, they would watch the fate of that measure in another place. If it met with the success they hoped for, they would then apply themselves to considering what practical measures they could best take—whether by the authority of the Executive or by invoking the aid of Parliament—for placing the Legislature and the Government in a position to deal effectively with the subject of fellowships, and make the great and noble endowments of the colleges in their Universities as efficient as possible for the purposes for which they were intended. That promise that the subject should not be overlooked he freely gave to all who took an interest in it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Hardy did not assent to the doctrine of the right hon. gentleman, who proposed that the same bill as was sent up last year should now be submitted to the House of Lords; and, if he did not now oppose that proceeding, he must hold himself quite free to take any course he might think fit as to any bill on that subject which might be introduced in a future session. He should be very glad, indeed, if that question could be settled in such a way as to provide proper securities for religious teaching and discipline in the Universities, which the right hon. gentleman himself admitted in principle to be desirable. As the bill now stood, however, it did not provide those securities; and, if it came down again from the other House in the same shape as it now stood, or near it, he should be prepared to resist it.

The bill was then read the third time and passed.

ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES ACT.

In moving the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, the Attorney-General pointed out that that measure had from the moment of its passing been entirely inoperative, except in so far as it had alienated from the Imperial Government the sympathies of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland; and laid especial stress upon the circumstance that its repeal was absolutely necessary to enable the new bishops of the disestablished Church of Ireland to bear their titles. The wording of the bill being a matter of great importance, it would, if read a second time, be referred to a select committee. Mr. Charley denied that the measure was required for the protection of the bishops of the Protestant Church of Ireland; and maintained that all the recent action of the Roman Catholic Church had justified the policy of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. Mr. Matthews rose to address the House; but seeing the anxiety of hon. members for a division, at once resumed his seat. Mr. Newdegate, however, would not allow the matter to be disposed of so rapidly; and interposed with a long address upon the evils of Canon Law, the designs of Archbishop Manning, and the aggressive policy of the Papacy, which he maintained would be favoured by this bill, the introduction of which he pretty plainly attributed to the dubious position of the Government and the necessity for its securing the support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland. The hon. gentlemen was supported in his opposition by Mr. T. Chambers, Mr. Green, and Mr. G. Gregory, while Mr. Sherlock, Mr. Gilpin, Mr. Serjeant Simon, and Sir D. Corrigan warmly approved of the bill, the second reading of which was, upon a division, carried by a majority of 86—137 to 51.

Mr. Magniac withdrew his proposal to delay the next stage of the Mines Regulation Bill for a fortnight, and after some conversation, the measure was read a second time, upon the understanding that the committee shall be deferred to the 16th March. There was no direct opposition to the second reading of the Inclosure Law Amendment Bill; but its provisions excited a good deal of discussion; many suggestions were made for their improvement, and Colonel Barttelot sought to refer the measure to a Select committee. About midnight Mr. Fawcett moved the adjournment of the debate, and after a slight hesitation Mr. Bruce assented to the adoption of that course.

On the motion of Mr. Bouverie, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the diplomatic and consular services and their maintenance on the efficiency policy required by the political and commercial interests of the country.

The House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

On Friday the Princess Louise Annuity Bill was brought down from the House of Lords, in accordance with ancient precedent, by two of Her Majesty's judges in full judicial costume—Mr. Justice Blackburn and Mr. Justice Keating congratulating to the Crown Prince.

Sir H. Hoare asked Mr. Gladstone whether there was any truth in a report that Captain Hozier had carried messages from the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cambridge to the Crown Prince, congratulating him on the victories of the German army. Mr. Gladstone regretted that such a statement should have appeared in the press, and doubted the expediency of bringing it before the House. He had ascertained that Captain Hozier had been charged to say everything kind—as from friend to friend—to exalted personages in the German Camp as to their health after so many trials; but his message had no manner of bearing on political interests.

THE BLACK SEA QUESTION.

Mr. Disraeli, in calling attention to Mr. Gladstone's statements about the Black Sea question, remarked on the mysterious inconsistency which characterised the conduct of the Government, and especially of its head. Reviewing the circumstances connected with the Four Points and the Conference of Vienna, he insisted that the neutrality of the Black Sea was the very gist and basis of the peace of 1856. The very decided warnings of the danger of disturbing that settlement which were given by Sir A. Buchanan at St. Petersburg, and by Mr. Odo Russell (fresh from confidential intercourse with his chief) at Versailles, seemed to show that up to the time when these representations were made the policy of England remained unchanged. But then came the remarkable declarations of the Prime Minister; and on this Mr. Disraeli commented with much sarcasm.

I have heard many remarkable things this session—(cheers and laughter)—which, although it has but just commenced, promises to be rife with interest. ("Hear," and a laugh.) We heard last night, for example, that on Monday next a secret committee—(cheers)—is to be moved for in order that it may discover how to govern and regenerate Ireland. (Cheers.) How to govern and regenerate Ireland! When we thought that we had employed the last two sessions in perfecting that exalted and sublime legislation which was not only to cure the evils of the past, but which even anticipated remedies for the future. (Cheers.) It seems to be, I must confess, that our Irish legislation is like our German treaties, which assume a different character to that which was contemplated when they were originated. (Cheers.) I heard also this session—and it surprises me as one of the most remarkable things of which I have any recollection—that a public officer who sought to publish a correspondence connected with his department, which he not only believed to be necessary to vindicate his character, but to be of the greatest interest to the country, received permission to do so, provided he altered the dates. (Cheers and laughter.) These are to my mind two very surprising occurrences; but I cannot help regarding it as more surprising still that a special envoy should be selected at a moment of such importance—himself admirably adapted, as nobody will deny, for the post, and with the immense advantage of being fresh from interviews with Ministers of State, and of receiving in person instructions from his chief—and that he should be sent on one of the most critical occasions not only in the history of his own country, but of Europe, not further than Versailles, and should the very first moment he encounters the great opponent with whom he had to deal, immediately take a course which his instructions did not justify. (Cheers.) [Mr. Gladstone: "I never said that."] I understood the right hon. gentleman distinctly to say, in answer to a distinct inquiry, that Mr. Odo Russell had no authority to make that representation. (Cheers.) Admit that he had no authority to make the declaration—an admission which is overwhelming in its incredibility—(laughter)—why was no despatch written by the Secretary of State to contradict the declaration? (Hear, hear.) Why do we not learn that at the moment when Her Majesty's Government heard of such an announcement, the special envoy was told by a flash of lightning that he had exceeded his authority? (Hear, hear.) Sir, there is not a line, not a scrap, not a jot to this effect; and until the inquiry made, and the answer given by the right hon. gentleman, no one doubted for a moment, looking to the character of the official papers, that the declaration was made by authority, or that Mr. Odo Russell was sent to Count Bismark to make it.

The fact was, that in his speech Mr. Gladstone had confounded his own private opinions with those of the Government. When he deprecated the neutrality of the Black Sea in 1856, he was neither a Minister nor leader of the Opposition. He belonged to a minute coterie of distinguished men who had then no following in the country, and who were extremely unpopular on account of their conduct with respect to this very question, Mr. Gladstone himself being the most unpopular of the group, on account of his inadequate measures, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, for maintaining the honour and interests of England. The people of England did not forget the vote proposed by Mr. Gladstone in a spirit of ironical finance for the despatch of Her Majesty's Guards to Malta and back again. And now the same man rose in the House of Commons to impute to departed statesmen of great eminence opinions not only which they did not hold, but which were contrary to their convictions, which contradicted their whole policy, and which taught us that public men of the highest distinction who proposed a policy in enforcing which the treasure of the country was expended without stint, and the most precious lives of the country were sacrificed, were laughing in their sleeves at the excitement of the nation. There was no ground whatever for those assertions. Lord Palmerston might have made some light observations on the subject, but everyone who knew Lord Palmerston knew how with a smiling countenance he often evaded inconvenient discussions on serious affairs. Under any circumstances a Conference was, in his opinion, a mistake. But why a Conference should be called—a Conference which Russia did not require, for Russia only initiated an abstract outrage of public morality, and only theoretically violated a treaty—merely to register the humiliation of the country, passed all understanding. It was Lord Granville's object to avoid a foregone conclusion, but the First Minister had proved on the very first day of Parliament there was a foregone conclusion in his own mind, and that it was against the honour and interests of this country.

Mr. Gladstone in his reply charged Mr. Disraeli with a breach of propriety, and even of public order, in referring to the Secret Committee on Ireland, and protested against the introduction of the paltry and contemptible accusation as to the date of Sir Spencer Robinson's minute. As to the Black Sea question it was impossible to conceive a more gross misconstruction, a more absolute misapprehension, a more pointed misapplication than the right hon. gentleman had made in his speech, founded upon a speech of a fortnight back, and carefully hatched during that fortnight—a misstatement so complete that it extended even to the page of the despatch he quoted. As to Sir A. Buchanan's and Mr. Odo Russell's despatches, the right hon. gentleman had studiously pursued the same artifice of twisting them from their true meaning and applying an ungenerous and torturing process to the language used. His accusations imputed, in fact, a degree of childishness and ignorance unworthy of the lowest boy in a national school. The representations of Sir A. Buchanan and Mr. Odo Russell had reference not to the particular question of the Black Sea, but to the general question of the faith of treaties. Moreover Mr. Russell was reporting not his own but Count Bismark's language. The Government never said that the policy involved in the note of Prince Gortschakoff was not a matter that might lead to difficulties between the two countries, even possibly eventuating in war. They never said that it would: but they never compromised their own liberty on the subject. As to himself, he never said the neutrality of the Black Sea was of no importance. All he said was that it was not of paramount and central importance. It was the power of interfering between Turkey and her Christian subjects which gave to Russia her standing ground in the Ottoman Empire; and it was at the total abolition of that system that the war and the negotiations were aimed. Although Mr. Disraeli had himself circulated a statement—and one quite unfounded—with regard to a foreign mission undertaken by Lord Clarendon, he protested against anybody else referring to the supposed opinions of that statesman. How generous his praises of the dead! They had heard him eulogise the late Sir Robert Peel and many others who had passed away, but perhaps it would be as well if with that liberality for the dead he mingled a little equity for the living. As to the Conference, he would rather not have said anything about it, as it might possibly be discussed with much greater advantage in the course of a few days, now that they had a French ambassador in London and there was a prospect of peace being restored. But as the Conference had been dragged into a debate, he would say that the object of the Conference was "to receive, in a manner compatible with and conformable to public international law, the representations that Russia may have to make, to give to those representations a fair, candid, and friendly hearing, and to consider, renovate, and, if need be fortify, any of the other provisions of the Treaty of 1856 against which it may be found by the Conference any reasonable objection can be raised."

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Mr. Grant Duff then laid before the House the Indian Budget, drawn from two sources—the actual accounts of the year ending March 31, 1870, and a telegraphic summary of the approximate accounts of the year just ended. In the year 1869-70 India had a deficit of 20,000*l.*, but for the year 1870-71 there was a surplus of a million, chiefly arising from opium, the income being 51,000,000*l.*, and the expenditure 50,000,000*l.* But the receipts of the year 1869-70 were better than those of the preceding year by 1,638,395*l.*, the great increase being in the land revenue, while the Customs had fallen off and the opium revenue had decreased by half a million. On the other side of the account there was a comparative reduction in expenditure of 1,254,509*l.*, the chief reduction being in ordinary public works. Passing to the year just begun, Mr. Grant Duff held out the hope that, unless some unexpected calamity occurred, the income-tax would be reduced, and explained the details of the experiment about to be tried of decentralising Indian finance. As usual, there would be a difficulty in making both ends meet, and Mr. Grant Duff went on to discuss the alternative modes of facilitating this process. A sweeping reduction of expenditure was impossible, but, on the other hand, he pointed out that India has had peace for two years, and no calamities like the Orissa Famine; that successful efforts are being made to foster trade and to develope the cultivation of cotton, &c. He drew attention, too, to such hopeful signs as the more frequent resort of natives to this country for education, and to the improvements in the administration of justice—an employment in which intelligent young natives specially distinguished themselves.

The statement was followed by the usual discursive discussion. Mr. Cave held that the Budget was not satisfactory, inasmuch as the revenue was stationary, and no mode had been indicated by which expenditure could be reduced or the revenue increased. M. W. Fowler disapproved the reduction in public works and denounced the revenue obtained from

opium. Sir C. WINGFIELD anticipated danger from the arbitrary increase in Indian taxation. Mr. Eastwick, Mr. C. Denison, Mr. Dickenson, Sir F. Goldsmid, Sir D. Wedderburn, Sir T. Bazley, Mr. Haviland-Burke, and Mr. Macfie, also spoke on various points of detail, and Mr. GRANT DUFF wound up with a reply—almost as long as his original speech—which was addressed to a House of less than a dozen members.

The House adjourned at five minutes past twelve o'clock.

On Monday, Mr. BRUCE, in reply to Mr. Monk, said that he could not have undertaken to bring in a bill on the marriage laws in 1870 on the part of the Government at the time referred to in the question, and he was sorry to say, on the part of the Government, that a bill on the subject would not be brought in during the present session.

THE REVISED CODE.

Mr. G. HARDY asked the Vice-President of the Council if he would state the grounds upon which he had, in the revised code, increased the number of attendances of school-children from 200 per annum to 250; and whether he could lay the data on which he had acted before Parliament; the grounds upon which he had made the changes with reference to evening schools, and if he would lay the data upon which he has made them before Parliament; and whether, as by the Act relating to printworks now in force children there employed were only required to attend 120 times, and 100 attendances qualified for examination, the new code, which required 150 attendances to qualify for examination, would, during this year, be put in force.

Mr. FORSTER said that the reason for the increased attendances from 200 to 250 per annum, was, in the first place, that the Government were convinced that there were no greater evils than small attendances in the schools, the small amount of time that children could be kept in the schools, and the way in which they changed from one school to another. He was glad to state that, looking at the statistics, they were convinced that this additional stimulus of greater attendances could be safely applied. With respect to the next part of the question, he had to state that several changes had been made in the code. They had come to the conclusion that the night-school system of education wanted careful revision. Undoubtedly there were many advantages, in a social point of view, but which nevertheless yielded small educational results, and they felt they had no right to ask the House for money, unless real educational results were obtained. They had, therefore, changed the mode of examinations, which in future would be conducted by the Government inspectors, or by other Government officials, and not by the managers. They had also allowed Government aid to night-schools not connected with day-schools, and they had considerably increased the grant, though he did not think such a course was to have been anticipated from the debates of last session. At the present moment all that was required was that the school should be kept open for forty evenings in the year, and that the scholars should be presented for examination 200 times. They found, however, that such a system was not attended with satisfactory results, and they had, therefore, deemed it necessary to increase the number of evenings of open school from forty to eighty, and the attendance from 200 to 250. As regarded the schools referred to in the last part of the question, if the department found it necessary to make a special exception for them, it would do so.

THE TERMS OF PEACE.

Mr. GLADSTONE, answering questions put by Mr. Otway, stated that the German ambassador had informed the Foreign Office that the preliminaries of peace had been signed, but as to the terms and conditions the Government had no official knowledge. He promised that ample information should be laid before the House to show what the Government had done to urge moderation. As regarded the attendance of the British military attachés at Versailles at any triumphal entry of German troops into Paris, the regulated instructions were that such functionaries should not be present at ceremonials by foreign armies consequent on successes of war, and that rule would, in compliance with the letter and spirit of neutrality which influenced the Government, be carried out in the present instance. This declaration was received with general expressions of approval.

SCOTCH EDUCATION BILL.

On the order of the day for the second reading of this bill, Mr. GORDON complained that sufficient time had not been allowed to the constituencies to consider the bill, which was entirely novel, and at variance with former precedents. He was dissatisfied, too, with the provision for religious instruction, and with the new Scotch Education Department, and he argued that one result of the bill would be to abolish the parochial schools. Dr. PLAYFAIR, on the other hand, extolled the bill as a great boon to Scotland, and well calculated to extend education to all parts of the kingdom. Mr. GRAHAM and Colonel SYKES echoed the complaint of the inadequate time allowed for the consideration of the bill, and while approving generally the principle of the measure, protested against being committed to the details by assenting to the second reading. Mr. CAMPBELL spoke strongly in favour of the bill. He objected, however, to relegating the religious difficulty to the local boards, and he believed that its effect would be to develope a huge system of denominational education. Major WALKER gave a general support to the bill, but there were many points, and especially on the religious question, in which it would require amendment.

Mr. M'LAREN remarked that a great deal had been said about the swamping and destruction of the parochial schools about to be accomplished by this bill, but he denied that such would be the operation of the measure, which, instead of extinguishing, would alter and improve those schools. Three-fourths of the things that the bill of 1869 proposed should be done by the Board in Edinburgh were, under the present bill, to be left to the local boards. No doubt the people in Scotland would have to pay larger sums under the bill than they did at present, but, on the other hand, they would have more to receive. He was aware, however, that upon this point his opinion was at variance with that of the majority of the people of Scotland. He regarded this measure as immeasurably superior to all previous ones that had been introduced upon the same subject, and he hoped that, when amended, it would pass into law. The rule with regard to the money to be raised was a somewhat peculiar one, because it assumed that 18s. a head on one-sixth of the population for educational purposes was a rather small sum to raise in Scotland in reference to the number of children to be educated. The calculation that such a sum would be necessary was based on the population of the country at the last census; but before the bill became law the census of 1871 would have been taken. That census would show a population of 3,300,000, and an assessment of 18s. a head on a sixth of that number of people would produce 500,000*l.*—a much larger sum than would be necessary to supply the educational requirements of the country. The working of the bill as now framed would be to relieve taxation in the richer parts of the country, and to make it a heavier burden upon the poorer populations. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the religious difficulty, he thought the proposal of the bill would meet the case in a satisfactory manner. The people of Scotland simply wished to be left alone in this respect. The bill assumed that religion would be taught, but one of its clauses provided that no child should either be compelled to attend religious instruction or to suffer injury for being absent. (Hear, hear.) The great blot in the bill was the retention of the principle of the cumulative vote in the election of the school board. England had made a blunder in this respect, but Scotland ought not therefore to make a blunder for the mere sake of preserving uniformity. (Hear, hear.) Then, further, nothing could be more unjust than the proposal of the bill relative to heritors. The Act of 1696 provided that the heritors and the minister should supply school accommodation in every parish; but by the present bill, if passed, the heritors, whose property had been enormously enhanced in value since the valued rent was fixed in 1696, would pay the merest fraction of the whole cost, while poor people, down to rentals of 4*l.*, would have to contribute in the same ratio as the richest landed proprietors. It was out of the question to suppose that this would be so trifling an assessment that nobody would feel it. It would, on the other hand, raise an outcry against the Government, of which the end would not be heard for many years. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CRAUFORD was anxious that the bill should be read the second time, but he must enter his protest against the manner in which Scotch legislation was treated at the beginning of the present session. The present bill was one of those mentioned in the gracious Speech of Her Majesty, and yet they were limited as to the discussion of it.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER explained the manner in which it was intended the Scotch Education Department should work. There was, he said, a marked difference, he said, between the present bill and that of 1869. Should the bill pass, they looked forward to there being in the Privy Council a special Scotch officer, responsible for Scotch business, so that in the daily work Scotch feelings and ideas might be consulted. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. M'LAGAN should like to see a much more responsible board sitting in Scotland, and some qualifications required from the members of the local board at their election.

Mr. DIXON regretted that more time had not been given to discuss the merits of the bill. There were some matters affecting the English people, and upon those he wished to have an opportunity of speaking, When the bill was in committee, he hoped those questions would be fairly discussed.

The LORD-ADVOCATE then applied to objections which had been raised against the bill. It was certainly not the purpose of the bill to destroy the parochial school system; on the contrary, it was their intention to extend it, the system having become insufficient in many of the country districts. By the present bill it was proposed to establish it not only in those districts, but in the towns where heretofore it had had no existence at all. The change in the school management certainly would be considerable. At present the management was limited; but, by the bill, there would be an extended area of rating, and management would be commensurate in that respect. (Hear, hear.) Instead of one board sitting at Edinburgh, every town and village would have its own school board, a central authority being of course necessary, because, in the distribution of the imperial money, it would alone be amenable to the country. In conclusion, he assured hon. members that their views would receive the most respectful consideration before it went into committee, and hoped that the favour shown to the bill would be manifest in its being read a second time.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed in three weeks.

CONDITION OF WESTMEATH.

The intervening business having been postponed, The Marquis of HARTINGTON rose, as he said, with a feeling of "painful dismay," to move for a select committee to inquire into the existence of an unlawful confederation in the county of Westmeath and parts adjacent, and the best means of suppressing it. And first, he showed from the returns that the condition of Ireland as regards crime has sensibly improved of late, and that the number of agrarian crimes, for instance, had fallen from 391 in January, 1870, to 35 in last January. He admitted, however, that this result was due not so much to the "healing legislation" of the last two years as to the extraordinary powers of the Peace Preservation Act, which, he asserted, had been exercised with vigour and firmness. But the county of Westmeath was an exception. That county had always been a centre and hotbed of Ribandism, and in the years between the years 1848 and 1870 forty persons had died by violence, and fifty-four persons had been fired at, there having been only twelve convictions in the one case and five in the other. The Marquis traced the origin of Ribandism, and described how its influence and organisation extended into every relation of life; how landlords could exercise no right of property, and employers dared not discharge a workman. Universal terrorism prevailed in the district, the law of Ribandism had usurped the place of the law of the land, and the extraordinary powers of last year's Act had been found insufficient to deal with it. This state of things was intolerable, the Government had determined to put a stop to it, and for this purpose they asked for this committee, before which all evidence would be laid. Arguing in favour of the appointment of a committee, the Marquis urged that in this way information would be obtained and suggestions made for dealing with the evil which could be got at in no other way. He asked it, too, in justice to the Government and to the House itself; for Parliament, he maintained, would be evading the responsibility which belonged to it if it granted further restrictive legislation without inquiry, and on the mere statement of the Minister. The Government did not shrink from any responsibility. They were determined to find a remedy, even if they went beyond the bounds of the Constitution; but they did not ask the committee to find them that remedy. Accordingly, he was willing to leave out of his motion the words which asked the committee to consider the best means of suppression. And in the same way he gave up the secresy of the inquiry. On this point he complained that there had been great misrepresentation. He had never meant more than to give the committee power to exclude the public and members from the room, because without some such protection many witnesses would not come forward. He proposed to leave this point entirely to the committee. The Marquis admitted that the precedents—one of which, in 1852, was set by Mr. Disraeli's Government—were not satisfactory, and anticipating the sharp taunts which would soon be launched at the Government, he concluded by emphatically declaring that, even if those taunts were deserved, which he denied, the Government would not shrink from the paramount duty of maintaining the security of life and property.

Mr. DISRAELI sarcastically sympathised with the "feeling of dismay" confessed by the Marquis of Hartington, which, he observed, was very becoming under the circumstances, although towards the end of his speech he seemed to think there was nothing to be dismayed about, and certainly had not adequately estimated the gravity of the demand he was about to make. But now that secresy was to be given up, and the committee was not to suggest means of suppression, what he asked, was the committee to do? Under last year's Act the Government, he maintained, had ample powers of examining witnesses, and if they required further powers of any sort, and had made an adequate demand on their own responsibility, he would have supported them. No committee was needed, for was not the Cabinet a standing secret committee? And, alluding to the precedent of 1852, quoted by the Marquis, Mr. Disraeli roused the enthusiastic cheering of his followers by retorting that if he had had a majority of 100 at his back he never would have moved for a committee. He went on with extraordinary vigour of voice and action to compare this proposal with the promises of pacifying Ireland on which Mr. Gladstone had entered office, and to carry out which we had legalised confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason. The proposal for an injuiry made Government ridiculous. The Ministry knew quite well what were the best means of suppressing these confederations. One of them must necessarily be the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but after Mr. Gladstone's "flashy speeches" on this point this proposal was merely a veil to cover his self-love.

Mr. Serjeant SHERLOCK, seconded by Mr. BROWNE, moved the previous question, urging that the offences quoted by the Marquis of Hartington were not agrarian, and that the Irish Executive had already ample powers.

Mr. GREGORY supported the motion for a committee, and described in forcible terms the state of terrorism now prevailing in Westmeath.

Mr. HARDY condoled with the new Irish Secretary that almost his first official act should be "to pull the chesnuts out of the fire" for his predecessor. When murder was stalking abroad inquiry was a mockery, and the Government was responsible for every day's and every hour's delay in proposing the measures they knew to be necessary for the protection of life. He agreed with Mr. Disraeli that this was merely a device to cover Mr. Gladstone's retreat from his former language about the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and to conceal the failure of the remedial legislation of the last two years. The

necessary powers ought to have been asked for long ago, and he wound up an impassioned peroration by declaring in language quoted from the Prime Minister, that by such faltering conduct a Government made itself contemptible.

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE, on the contrary, asserted that the remedial legislation had produced a marvellous change in Ireland, which never was so calm, so hopeful, and so prosperous as now. An exception unfortunately existed in a limited district, and the proposition of the Government simply was that the evidence affecting this district should be considered by a select number of the most trusted members of the House.

Lord SANDON asked the Government to consider how far the commercial stability of the country might be affected by sensational motions of this character. The Government had to thank themselves for much of their present difficulty, particularly by such acts as the release of the Fenian prisoners. It was a misdirection of the functions of the House of Commons to turn it into a Committee of Public Safety. Mr. AGAR ELLIS had no difficulty in supporting the motion now that the Government had given it distinctly to be understood that the committee was not to be responsible for suggesting legislation; and, after some observations from Mr. DOWNING, who held that the Executive had already ample powers, the debate, on the motion of Colonel WILSON PATTEN, was adjourned.

The House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

THE EDUCATION ACT.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

The weekly meeting of this board was held on Wednesday afternoon in the Guildhall; Lord Lawrence in the chair. There was a large attendance of members and the general public.

Professor HUXLEY moved the adoption of the following resolution:—

That the committee to consider and report upon the scheme of education to be adopted in the public elementary schools in London shall consist of the undermentioned members of the School Board: The Chairman and Vice-Chairman, the Rev. J. Angus, D.D., the Rev. A. Barry, D.D, Mr. Currie, Miss Davies, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, Mr. Green, Professor Huxley, Mr. Macgregor, Mr. Lucraft, the Rev. J. A. Picton, M.A., the Rev. J. H. Rigg. D.D., the Rev. W. Rogers, M.A., Viscount Sandon, M.P., Mr. Tabrum, Mr. Wallace, and Canon Cromwell.

Carried unanimously.

Mr. W. H. SMITH, M.P., then moved the following resolution:—

That, in the schools provided by the board, the Bible shall be read, and instruction in religious subjects shall be given therefrom, provided always—(1) That in such instruction the provisions of the Act in section 14 ("No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school") be strictly observed, both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination. (2) That in regard of any particular school, the board shall consider and determine upon any application, by managers, parents, or ratepayers of the district, who may show special cause for exception of the school from the operation of this resolution in whole or in part.

The hon. gentleman asked the board to accept the resolution as the best and only mode in which they could carry out the spirit of the Act which they had to administer in the metropolis. It distinctly recognised the necessity of giving religious instruction to children who might be educated in the schools under the management of the school board, whilst it protected them from any attempt or desire, on the part of teachers, to force upon them any particular views or religious dogmas whatever. The spirit of the Act undoubtedly was to prevent any endeavour being made to make the schools the means of increasing or decreasing the members of any particular denomination. He felt satisfied that no member of the board would wish to substitute any other authority than the Bible upon which to build up a religious scheme of education. Indeed, he understood that as many as thirty-eight of the members of the board had already pledged themselves, in some way or other, to recognise the Bible as the standard under which religious education should be given—(Hear, hear)—and he believed that the parents of the children themselves most entirely and heartily desired to see it introduced. The instances of parents having expressed a desire that their children should be relieved from the necessity of taking religious instruction had been so exceedingly few that they hardly deserved to be mentioned in a matter of this kind. If the board should accept the principle of Bible reading and teaching in schools, it was intended that no advantage should be taken to promote the interest of any particular sect whatever. The object he and his friends had in view was solely so to educate the children as to prepare them for their own work in life. (Hear, hear.) They simply said that the Bible should be read, and instruction in religious subjects given therefrom, leaving it open to managers and teachers to adapt the principle to the peculiar circumstances of every school. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MORLEY, M.P., seconded the motion. He believed the object was not to promote the interest of any sect, but in the highest sense of the word to elevate the people. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. W. ROGERS, M.A., moved as an amendment:—

That it is expedient for this Board not to commit itself to any abstract resolutions concerning the principles or subjects of instruction in the schools under its authority, but rather to judge, as and when each school is established, which are the principles and subjects best suited for that school, and for the community for which it is required.

The rev. gentleman considered that the passing of an abstract resolution such as that moved by Mr. Smith would be highly mischievous. It was throwing an apple of discord amongst the board, the effects of which he could not conceive. He believed the time was approaching when religious teaching must be separated from the secular. (No, no.) Well, wise men said so—(laughter)—and he might mention amongst them the Bishop of London, who was one of the far-seeing men of the time. His opinion was that the board ought to seek after real and conscientious teachers, and entrust them with the teaching of the secular department, the moral teaching; but the dogmatic and religious teaching ought to be left to various religious teachers, who might be specially employed for the purpose. (Hear, hear.)

The amendment was not seconded.

Mr. T. CHATFEILD CLARKE followed with a second amendment:—

That this board, whilst earnestly hoping means may be found, by voluntary zeal and effort, of providing a religious education for the children of the metropolitan schools, objects to the proposals for reading the Bible and giving instruction in religious subjects in rate-supported schools, as being opposed to the principles of religious equality, to the conscientious convictions of many ratepayers and parents, and as leading ultimately to a denominational system of religious teaching in the schools.

The Houses of Parliament in their cowardice ought not to have thrown the difficulty of settling this question upon the board, but they failed to perform their duty, showing that the time had arrived when the State could no longer legislate for the religious instruction of the people. He quoted Cobden, John Stuart Mill, Kingsley, and others, to support his views, and argued that the actual operation of this resolution would favour the Church of England, because it had the largest number of scholars, and it would through its teachers and managers be infusing, at the expense of other denominations, Church of England teaching where it was not taught now. Was that right as a matter of religious equality? (Cheers.) This question of religious teaching, which had failed hitherto in the day-schools of the country, would bring a hornet's nest into the community, and if the resolution were carried society at large would suffer, because voluntary efforts would cease. A solution of the question might be found in having fixed selections from the Bible, to which all agreed; but there were many difficulties in the way. He appealed to members of the board who were Churchmen to be tolerant, and to study the spirit of the times, and to Nonconformists to be true to their old principles, and support voluntaryism.

The Rev. J. A. PICTON seconded the amendment. He thought the question might be free and openly discussed without the introduction of any elements of bitterness. (Hear, hear.) He thought too much had been made of denominations, which were very like corporations, that had no soul to be saved, and no body to be kicked. (Laughter.) Referring to the principle of separate religious education in rate-aided schools, he said there were a great many men amongst the artisan population who had gone through a great deal of anxiety of mind, involving much suffering, with regard to the difficulties of revealed truth, and after long years of toil and pain they had arrived at what they (whether right or wrong) thought to be rational convictions; and these men were anxious that their children should not have to pass through the same process, and they would deprecate any system which involved their children's attendance at any school where the Bible was taught to be infallibly true; they would deprecate their children being taught to suppose that the narratives in Genesis were literally true, or having the doctrine of the Trinity and of the personality of Satan inculcated upon them; and they would shudder at the notion of everlasting punishment. Pain would be caused to such people if religious teaching were introduced into the schools at the cost of the ratepayers. Unbelievers were not in any special district, but were scattered everywhere; and to pain half-a-dozen consciences was as wrong as to pain a hundred or a thousand. He knew of nothing in the Act which justified religious teaching at all in the rate-aided schools. Some of the gentlemen who had spoken seemed to have forgotten that there were any Sunday-schools. The fact was, that twice as many children in London attended Sunday-schools as attended in the schools supported in any way by the State; and those schools could show results in changed hearts and sanctified lives, for which they would look in vain in the reports of the inspectors of the Education Department. Out of twenty-one reports there was scarcely one in which any clergyman expressed himself as satisfied with the character of the religious instruction given in the schools. Why should they doubt the power of the voluntary system to do that which they all earnestly desired? That system had covered the land with free churches, and had given the Church of England new life, and a power for good which she had never before attained in her venerable and glorious history. The victories of the voluntary system ought to prevent them from putting such a slur upon it as was proposed.

Mr. M'ARTHUR contended that the Bible had made our nation what it was, and that our free press was security against proselytism.

Mr. HUTCHINS said that the situation of Roman Catholics, to which body he belonged, was peculiarly exceptional. In the metropolis, under the auspices of Archbishop Manning, schools had been opened in every part, and large numbers of children were constantly being instructed; their training schools were highly spoken of; and, on the whole, they were found to avow themselves advocates of the denominational system. Well, what did the board propose to do? They were going to put the compulsory clause into force, and they (the Roman Catholics) were too painfully certain that a great many of their children would be driven into board schools. They would be unable to carry out the denominational system if such was the case, and therefore they asked for fair play, for separate religious instruction, and for united secular education. They desired that the Protestants should teach their children in their own way, and they craved the same privilege for themselves. (Hear, hear.)

Canon MILLER wished to speak rather as a citizen than as a minister of the Established Church. He congratulated the board upon the tone which the debate had assumed, taken as a whole. As to the propositions which had been placed before the meeting, he thought that nothing could be more damaging to the mental culture of a child than that, when the Bible was read in a school, and the child wanted to inquire something about what it had heard, the teacher should be compelled to say, "I must not tell you anything about it. You must be content with the book just as it is read to you." He (Canon Miller) thoroughly deprecated this state of things. If the religious instruction of the children was not to be given by means of the Bible, it followed that it must be inculcated through the ministers of religion or through voluntary efforts. If the task should fall upon the former, he must say that nothing else than a gross sham would be perpetrated upon the public, because, with the numerous duties which the clergy had to perform, it would be impossible they could find time to educate the children properly in the knowledge of Divine truth. He believed that when they set aside the influence of sympathising efforts, the residual good derived from Sunday-school instruction was far less than the public imagined. As an educational means he did not believe it, except so far that the Word of God elevated the intellectual tone of any one who read it. The clergy were not going to be guilty of the gross, mischievous fallacy of saying that the religious education of the children should rest mainly upon what they could acquire in Sunday-schools. If they were to have reform at all, it was most desirable that even less should be put upon Sunday-scholars than at present. He believed there was not a sane man in England who would subject his own children to what thousands of children had to undergo at the present time—to have on a Sunday morning to leave their homes before nine, to attend school, and afterwards to go to church or chapel, and there be kept till one or half-past. To talk of children being spiritually educated at home, or of home influence in this respect, was simply preposterous. A large number of the working classes never attended any place of worship at all, and were not in a position properly to teach their families. He considered the board would do right in adopting the resolution, because it settled a great principle, and therefore he should give it his support. (Hear, hear.)

Professor HUXLEY said they must remember that the board was appointed to carry out a particular Act of Parliament, and no one had a right to assume that the members, individually speaking, were pledged to one view more than another. It had been said all this religious discussion lay between the Protestants on the one hand, and the great old Catholic Church on the other, and that if the board could hit upon some kind of compromise between the two, there would be nothing else to think about. That was a fundamental error and a great mistake. Growing up side by side with the shivered and splintered Protestant Church and with the great Catholic body was a third party, who had nothing to do with either of the two controversialists, but which was independent of both. Having this in view, he thought the more practical course would be for the board to assent to a resolution in some such form as that proposed by the Rev. Dr. Angus, with certain modifications which he (Professor Huxley) would take the liberty of indicating when that resolution was placed before the meeting. Having this great phantom before his eyes, he considered that some scheme for the education of the people ought to be carried into effect which would not be too far removed from their present ideas, and not so opposed to them as to lead them to resist it. If they attempted to go too far, the people would be left behind, and if they were to try to drive them, it would be found that it was an amazingly hard task to do, and simply waste of time. What they had to do, was to decide upon some course which would be adapted to the transitional state of the world as at present. They had the fact that the great masses of the people desired what they called religious instruction—that instruction which was inseparably bound up with the theology contained in the Old and New Testaments. It was certain that the system which would gain their respect must be something which was connected with their old system of belief. He wanted to see their regulations moving in the way in which thought was moving, and which would mould themselves to the popular point of view. He could not vote for the amendment.

Mr. W. GREEN then moved the adjournment of the debate, which, on a division, was negatived.

Mr. W. GREEN then said that he thought the arguments of Mr. Chatfeild Clarke and Mr. Picton had not been answered, and proceeded to reply to some of the observations that had been made in support of it. The board had been called into existence to give elementary education; but could anything worthy the name of education be given without a high moral training, and were not the best morals inculcated in the word of God? With regard to Sunday-school teachers, he believed the teachers in the day-schools were more potent to give instruction in religion than many of the teachers in the Sunday-schools. As regarded Bible teaching, he believed it was the best way of gaining the sympathy of

children, and why should the children of the poor be treated differently to other children?

The speaker was interrupted by cries of "Divide"; and on a division being taken there were:—For the amendment 4, against the amendment 37. Amendment lost.

The Rev. B. WAUGH proposed the adjournment of the debate, which was agreed to.

The meeting then terminated.

The amendment upon the notice paper in the name of Dr. Angus, to which Professor Huxley referred, is this:—

1. That in the schools provided by this board the Bible shall be read, with such explanations in matters of language, history, customs, &c., as may be needed to make its meaning plain.

2. That in addition to the reading of the Bible, it is, in the judgment of the board, highly desirable that there should be given such instruction in its teaching—on the first principles of morality and religion—as is suitable to the capacities of children; and that, therefore, the board will be prepared to encourage such instruction in every proper way, and consistently with the design of the act: provided always that the clauses of Section VII. and of Section XIV. be strictly observed in letter and in spirit with respect to both resolutions; and that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination: provided also that in regard to any school, the board shall consider and determine upon any application by managers, parents, or ratepayers of the district, who may show special cause for the exemption of such school from the operation of these resolusions in whole or in part.

It will be remembered that some time since twenty-seven members of the London School Board signed a requisition to the chairman requesting him to set apart a room for the private prayers of the board. On Wednesday last the necessary accommodation was provided for the first time, but, strange to relate the whole of the requisitionists were absent, the noble chairman being the only person to avail himself of the opportunity!

THE PROVINCES.

The Lords of the Council on Education have issued orders for the formation of school boards for the municipal boroughs of Durham, Helston, Reading, Southampton, and Stafford.

LIVERPOOL.—At the meeting of this school board on Monday the by-laws were considered and adopted. Upon one clause, providing for the remission of school fees in case of poverty, considerable discussion ensued. Mr. J. J. Stitt (Nonconformist) proposed an amendment, excepting all but the schools of the board from the privilege conferred by the clause, but on the question being put to the vote a large majority were in favour of the clause in its original form, whereby, in cases of poverty, the board will with respect to schools provided by the board remit, and in respect to other schools will pay the whole or part of such fees as the parent is unable to pay. The amendment was denounced by several gentlemen as an attempt to limit the operation of the Education Act by excluding denominational schools.

ST. THOMAS (EXETER).—The election of a School Board took place yesterday. According to the return issued by the committees of various candidates Miss Temple lost by a few votes. The board in all probability consists of Mr. Stocker, Mr. Piller, a working man, Mr. Rew, the Rev. W. H. Howard, and Mr. Reed, four Churchmen and one Nonconformist. Mr. Piller is the Nonconformist.

BARNSTAPLE SCHOOL BOARD.—The election of the Barnstaple School Board took place on Saturday, without a contest. The board consists of the Rev. I. Wallis, Captain Mackenzie, Mr. Townsend M. Hall, and Mr. J. M. Miller, Churchmen; Mr. Aldermen Guppy, Independent; Mr. Alexander Lander, Wesleyan; and Mr. W. Hills, Baptist. In a joint address they state their desire that all schools under their control shall afford religious instruction on the basis of the Bible to all who are willing to accept it, with the fullest liberty, however, to any one who are so disposed to decline it.

THE NEW EDUCATION CODE.

A minute of the Committee of Council on Education approving of time tables, has been issued. At the Council on the 7th inst., the Elementary Education Act (1870), and the following articles of the New Code (1871), were considered:—

"Article 12. An inspector may visit any public elementary school at any other time without notice.

"Article 23. Attendance at a morning or afternoon meeting may not be reckoned for any scholar who has been under instruction in secular subjects less than two hours, nor attendance at an evening meeting for any scholar who has been under similar instruction less than one hour and a half.

"It was then resolved by the Committee of Council—

"That the time-table of each public elementary school shall be submitted to the inspector of the district, at his first visit to the school after the 30th of April, 1871. That the inspector shall enter on every time-table which fulfils the requisite conditions, 'approved on behalf of the Education Department,' with his signature and the date of his visit. That the inspector may approve any time table which, while conforming to section 7 (2) of the Education Act, in respect of the time or times appointed for religious observances or instruction, sets apart for instruction in secular subjects at least two consecutive hours at each morning and afternoon meeting, and one hour and a half at each evening meeting of the school. That the inspector shall not express any opinion as to the time or times appointed for religious observances or instruction, or as to the nature of such instruction, but shall confine himself to seeing that the prescribed amount of time is secured for secular instruction. That before signing the time-table the inspector shall satisfy himself—1. That a copy of the regulations contained in section 7 of the Education Act is conspicuously put in the school. 2. That the time-table is printed, or written, in distinct characters, and that sufficient copies of it are provided to be put up in every schoolroom. 3. That if the school premises admit of it, the children withdrawn by their parents from religious observances or instruction, receive, by themselves, instruction in secular subjects during the time or times set apart for religious instruction or observances. That the inspector, at any visit which he pays to a school without notice, shall report to the Education Department if he finds that the work of the school is not being carried on according to the approved time-table, or that the time-table itself is not exhibited in every schoolroom. That if any five parents or guardians of scholars for the time being attending a school make complaint in writing to the Education Department that a time-table, approved by the inspector, is not in accordance with this minute, the Education Department, on receiving such complaint, shall make such inquiry and order in the matter as they may think fit. That copies of this minute be forwarded, for their information and guidance, to Her Majesty's inspectors of schools."

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.—The nomination for this county to fill the seat vacated by Colonel Poulett-Somerset will take place on Saturday. His son is the only candidate.

STALYBRIDGE.—The nomination of candidates took place on Monday. A large crowd assembled, and during the proceedings sundry missiles were discharged and slight disturbanees created. Nothing of a serious nature, however, occurred. Mr. Henry Bailey proposed and Mr. J. F. Cheetham seconded Mr. Buckley, who stood in the Liberal interest at the last election; and Mr. Ralph Bates moved and Mr. John Chadwick seconded the nomination of Mr. F. S. Powell, Conservative. The latter candidate obtained the show of hands, which was not, however, sustained at the poll yesterday. The numbers at the close were:—

Buckley	2,189
Powell	1,981
Majority	208

HEREFORD.—On Monday the nomination of candidates for the representation of Hereford, caused by the retirement of Col. Clive, took place in the Guildhall. Captain Hayter, Liberal, was proposed by Mr. Cam, and seconded by Mr. Bosley. Major Arbuthnot, Conservative, was proposed by General Golnes, and seconded by Mr. Lingen. The former candidate, in the course of his speech, denied being the nominee either of the Government or of the Clive family, but said he should support the Liberal policy. Major Arbuthnot denounced the policy of the Government, both at home and abroad. The show of hands was in favour of the Conservative nominee He was returned at the head of the poll yesterday, the numbers being:—

Arbuthnot	967
Hayter	681
Majority	286

Postscript.

Wednesday, March 1, 1871.

THE WAR.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE TREATY OF PEACE.

The National Assembly met yesterday afternoon at Bordeaux.

In the midst of the most profound silence, M. Thiers rose and spoke as follows:—"We have accepted a painful mission, and after having used all possible endeavours, we come with regret to submit for your approval a bill for which we ask urgency. 'Art. 1. The National Assembly, forced by necessity, is not responsible, (?) and adopts the preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles on the 26th of February.'"

At this point M. Thiers was overpowered by his feelings, and obliged to descend from the tribune and leave the room. M. Barthélemy St. Hiliare continued to read the preliminaries:—

"1. France renounces in favour of the German Empire the following rights:—The fifth part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville; and Alsace, less Belfort.

"2. France will pay the sum of five milliards of francs, of which one milliard is to be paid in 1871, and the remaining four milliards by instalments extending over three years.

"3. The German troops will begin to evacuate the French territory so soon as the treaty is ratified. They will then evacuate the interior of Paris, and some departments lying in the western region. The evacuation of the other departments will take place gradually, after payment of the first milliard, and proportionately to the payment of the other four milliards. Interest at the rate of five per cent. will be paid on the amount remaining due from the date of the ratification of the treaty.

"4. The German troops will not levy any requisitions in the departments occupied by them, but will be maintained at the cost of France.

"5. A delay will be granted to the inhabitants of the territories annexed to choose between the two nationalities.

"6. Prisoners of war will be immediately set at liberty.

"7. Negotiations for a definitive treaty of peace will be opened at Brussels after the ratification of the treaty.

"8. The administration of the departments occupied by the German troops will be entrusted to French officials, but under the control of the chiefs of the German corps of occupation.

"9. The present treaty confers upon the Germans no rights whatever in the portion of territory not occupied.

"10. The treaty will have to be ratified by the National Assembly of France."

STATE OF PARIS.

An official announcement that the German troops are to enter Paris to-day has now been published by the French Government. In a proclamation dated on Sunday, and issued on Monday, M. Picard, the Minister of the Interior, states that, notwithstanding the efforts made, it had been impossible to prevent the entry. The German diplomatists were prepared to renounce it, on condition of Belfort being definitively ceded by France. This was refused, as Paris would feel some consolation in its suffering by the knowledge that that suffering would save one of the bulwarks of France. M. Picard incidentally announces that a new armistice for fifteen days has been concluded, and that there will be no further requisitions.

The entry of the Germans into Paris is to take place at ten o'clock this morning. The troops are not to exceed 30,000 men; they will occupy the district of the Champs Elysées, from the Place de la Concorde westward, and they will be lodged in public buildings, so as to save the inhabitants from the annoyance of billeting. There will be no requisitions.

A telegram from Paris dated yesterday at noon says:—"The proclamations of the Government and of General Vinoy have had a good effect, and the disturbances have greatly subsided. The Press, this morning, is unanimous in supporting the cause of order. The disturbance last night after nine p.m. was, comparatively speaking, insignificant. At midnight a crowd gathered round the Café des Princes, Boulevard Montmartre. It was largely composed of pupils of the Ecole Centrale. A determination was expressed to oppose the entry of the Prussians into Paris at all hazards."

It is stated that the Emperor of Germany will not occupy the Tuileries, but the Elysée Palace, during his stay in the city.

M. Thiers has addressed a note to the Pontiff, offering him an asylum in Corsica should he not be satisfied with his residence at the Vatican, notwithstanding the guarantees offered by Italy.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

In the Lords yesterday, the Royal assent was given by commission to the first batch of measures passed during the present session, including the Princess Louise's Annuity Bill and one or two others. The House of Lords sat for a short time only, but during that time Lord HOUGHTON ascertained from the COLONIAL SECRETARY that an Act passed by the Colonial Legislature of South Australia to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister had been disallowed.

In the House of Commons, Lord ENFIELD informed Mr. WHITWELL that, as far as he was aware the Government had received no information as to any commercial stipulations in the treaty between France and Germany.

A long debate took place on the motion of Sir M. LOPES for an immediate inquiry into the incidence of Imperial as well as local taxation, and to adopt such measures as shall ensure that every description of property shall equitably contribute to all national burdens. The motion was seconded by Mr. A. PELL, and supported by Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH and Mr. W. FOWLER, and other members. Mr. GOSCHEN fully admitted that it was the duty of the Government to "ensure that every description of property shall equitably contribute to all national burdens"; and assured the House that they had amply redeemed their pledge to inquire into the incidence of Imperial was well as local taxation, and promised that the result of their labours would shortly be produced. They had already prepared a measure to deal with the subject of local taxation, and he did not think it would be wise to defer its introduction until there had been further inquiry by a committee of that House. The right hon. gentleman concluded by moving the previous question, which was eventually carried by 241 to 195.

Mr. Gladstone's proposal to nominate the Select Committee on the business of the House produced a good deal of controversy; and was only assented to upon the understanding that some members shall be added on a future occasion.

The Westmeath Committee debate was fixed for the first thing to-morrow, and the Army Bill for Monday.

The House adjourned at ten minutes to one o'clock.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Transactions on the Corn Exchange at Mark-lane to-day were restricted, but the cooler weather had a slight strengthening influence upon quotations, although no actual advance took place. There was a limited supply of English wheat on sale, which changed hands slowly, at full prices. Foreign wheat was in fair supply, but dull request.

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1871.

SUMMARY.

THE Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Germany and France was signed by M. Thiers on Sunday last at Versailles, approved of by the fifteen Parliamentary delegates in attendance, and has been laid before the National Assembly at Bordeaux. The negotiations lasted over several days, often for many hours at a time, and are said to have been exceedingly animated. M. Thiers strove with all his energy, almost breaking off negotiations, to save Metz—engaging that the fortifications should be demolished—and to prevent a triumphal entry of the Prussians into the French capital. Though supported, it is believed, by the moral influence of our Government, who have not as yet been put in official possession of the terms, he entirely failed. Count Bismark, backed, or more probably instigated, by Count Moltke, was inexorable. The negotiations were of the nature of a bargain between a rapacious Jew and his victim. Shylock would have his pound of flesh, and had it, to the last drop of blood. The terms of peace are the cession of the fifth part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville, and the whole province of Alsace, except the fortress of Belfort—which Count Bismark finally resigned in consideration of the temporary occupation of certain portions of Paris; and a war indemnity of 200,000,000*l.*, 40,000,000*l.* to be paid within the present year, and Champagne to be occupied by the Prussians at the expense of France till the whole of the remainder of that vast sum with interest is forthcoming, three years being the limit. The armistice is extended to the 12th inst. to enable the National Assembly to discuss and ratify the provisions of the preliminary treaty, which will eventually be signed at Brussels. All requisitions upon the occupied departments are to cease forthwith.

When M. Thiers yesterday attempted to address the Assembly at Bordeaux in asking the French deputies to accept a treaty, forced upon them by necessity, and for which they were not responsible, he fairly broke down with emotion. That it will be adopted, after more or less of debate, does not admit of a doubt. M. Thiers has done the best he could for his afflicted country. The thirty deputies of the Left beforehand "declare every act of territorial cession null and void." This is a very cheap kind of patriotism, and will excite as little attention at Bordeaux as will their vows of "eternal revenge" at Versailles. To refuse to ratify the Preliminary Treaty would, as M. Thiers says, extend "the frightful ravages of war, which has not yet passed the Loire, to the Pyrenees!" while every day's delay leaves the French capital in German occupation.

The news of the exorbitant terms exacted by Count Bismark, and of the arrangement for entering Paris, excited indescribable sensation in that capital of sensationalism. It seemed on Monday as though the whole population would rise to resist the intruders. Yesterday the excitement had somewhat calmed down, owing to the efforts of the Press of all sections, and to a Government proclamation announcing that by the entry of the Prussians into Paris Belfort was secured to France. This morning 30,000 Germans, with a hundred pieces of artillery, were to make their entry into Paris. They will be reviewed by the Emperor William, lumbago notwithstanding, on the Champ de Mars. After a short stay the troops will be relieved by another corps, till the whole army has been within the city. It is said that they will find in the occupied quarter "silence, emptiness, and mourning." This would be a worthy exhibition of self-restraint. But, though the French military authorities are taking every precaution, and French troops will draw a cordon round the occupied district, there is too much room for anxiety as to the result in a capital where so many restless and fanatical spirits abound. The appeal of M. Thiers to the pride of the Parisians will, we trust, be effectual. "Upon you it depends," he says, "to save or destroy France itself. Do not imitate the fault of those who did not wish us to believe eight months ago that the war would be so fatal." To obey these injunctions to the letter would be an exhibition of patient fortitude worthy of the bearing of Paris during the siege, would quash the serious movement in the Departments for holding the National Assembly outside the walls of the capital, and greatly increase the sympathy of the civilised world with the misfortunes of France. In a few hours the result of the first German occupation of Paris will be known.

The war indemnity will fall with crushing severity upon impoverished and disorganised France. Her public debt under the Empire had reached to 518,000,000*l.*, and now her own heavy war expenses and the unprecedented amount to be paid to Germany will raise the national liabilities to more than eight hundred millions, the interest of which alone will be a terrible burden upon her future resources. It is probable, however, that a supreme effort will be made to get rid of the German occupation by paying the whole indemnity during the current year.

The great Parliamentary topic of the week has been the proposed inquiry into the condition of Meath, an Irish county where the terrorism exercised by the Riband conspirators is complete and almost unprecedented. The Government have shown an incomprehensible weakness and vacillation in this matter. Last Thursday the Irish Secretary announced his intention of moving for a Secret Select Committee on the subject. So strong was the repugnance to this proposal that the idea of secresy was abandoned. On Monday there was an exciting debate on the Marquis of Hartington's motion, in which Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Hardy made very damaging attacks on the Government. The discussion will be resumed to-morrow—having been staved off last evening. Why Ministers should not have asked Parliament for additional power to deal with this outburst of crime in Westmeath instead of proposing a Committee, no one can understand. Many of their best supporters are against them in the matter, and the report this morning of three new agrarian outrages in Ireland—one an assassination—should induce the Government to abandon the slow process of a Committee to inquire into what is already known, and demand authority, if it be necessary, to stamp out this secret conspiracy against life and property.

The Scotch Education Bill has been read a second time without a division, and Mr. Grant Duff has thus early produced the Indian Budget, which shows a surplus of more than a million, and gave rise on Friday night to an interesting discussion. The Lords have been turning their leisure to account by discussing the congenial subject of national defence, when the Earl of Carnarvon and the Duke of Richmond condemned the abolition of purchase, and the Duke of Cambridge put in an appearance as the most faithful servant of the War Office.

The London School Board has entered upon the discussion of the vexed question of religious education, which was opened last Wednesday by Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., who proposed a resolution authorising Bible reading and instruction as far as is compatible with the safeguards of the Education Act. This was opposed by an amendment moved by Mr. Chatfeild Clarke, to the effect that to give religious instruction in rate-supported schools is opposed to the principle of religious equality, to the conscientious convictions of many ratepayers and parents, and would lead ultimately to a denominational system of religious teaching in the schools. The amendment found an opponent in no less a person than Professor Huxley, who objected to it on the ground of expediency. He contended that their education scheme "must be something which was not too rudely divorced from the old systems of belief; and what the Board must guard against in the first place was an attempt thus to divorce, and in the next place care must be taken that the regulations would yield to the current of the time when that current became strong enough to make its influence felt." Only four members of the Board were found to be favourable to the amendment, and thirty-seven against it. The debate stands adjourned, and will be resumed on another amendment, suggested by Dr. Angus, that the religious instruction shall be limited to such teaching of "the first principles of morality and religion as is suitable to the capacities of children"—a proposal which Professor Huxley is prepared to support, but which, like the original motion, is open to the objection that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to limit the discretion of school teachers, whatever formal rules may be laid down. The ultimate decision of the Board will be awaited with interest, as it will probably furnish a precedent which will be followed in all our large towns.

In a Supplement we give a full report of Professor Seeley's lecture on "The possible means of preventing war in Europe," at the Friends' Meeting House, Bishopsgate, which will be read with general interest. We must, necessarily reserve comment on the Professor's thoughtful suggestions.

THE PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE.

THE Emperor-King, it is said, has sent the following telegram to the Empress-Queen:—"With deeply-moved heart, and with thankfulness to the grace of God, I inform you that the preliminaries of peace have just been signed. They have yet to be ratified by the National Assembly at Bordeaux." One of our missionaries was speaking warmly, on a certain occasion, to John Foster, the essayist, of the personal piety of the Emperor Alexander of Russia. John Foster replied, "No doubt, sir, he was a very pious man, and most likely said grace after swallowing Poland." The language employed by the Emperor-King realises this supposition. He has not exactly swallowed France, but he has taken a fair portion of her territory into his dominion. Alsace, with the exception of Belfort, and German Lorraine, including Metz, together with a contribution of 200,000,000*l.*, payable within three years, during which period a portion of France beyond the new boundary is to be occupied by Germans, make up a tolerable *bon-bouche* for this religious monarch. As if to illustrate still more vividly the gentleness and generosity of his Christian faith, he has determined to enter, and for a short period, to occupy, Paris, although, owing, we believe, to the energetic remonstrance of the English Government, the military demonstration intended to gratify the vainglory of the conquerors, and to humiliate the conquered, will be confined to the Avenue from the Barrière de L'Etoile to the Place de la Concorde. These terms are the most favourable which M. Thiers and M. Jules Favre could obtain from Count Bismark. They are not absolutely ruinous, perhaps, to France, but they are terribly severe. They, together with the mischief inflicted upon herself by her own hands, and by the hands of her foes, since the fall of the Empire at the capitulation of Sedan, will weaken France for a generation at least. Her recuperative energies, however, are marvellous. Her resources are still vast. She is destined, no doubt, to pass through a long interval of distress, but, if she will but give up her dreams of military glory, and her thoughts of revenge, and throw her whole soul into the cultivation of the arts of peace, she may yet regain the highest position in the comity of European States, and rejoice in a prosperous, contented, and happy people.

According to what are called the laws of war, Germany is justified in exacting this harsh and extreme retribution from the French nation. The "sweetness and light" which we have been lately instructed to expect from general and high intellectual culture, have been put to the test during the present conflict, and they turn out to be something very different from what has been pictured by overweening philosophy. No doubt the Germans entered upon the war with the intention of conducting it in a spirit of humanity, and, during the first stage of it, although they displayed a recklessness of life truly appalling, they managed to exhibit, in most other respects, a self-restraint that was commendable and even imposing. But intellectual culture soon gave way before the pressure of excited passion. There seems to have been no ever-welling fountain of humanity in their nature. The spring of their desires lay too near the surface, and was soon dried up by the fierce heat of the atmosphere in which war had involved them. For no sufficient object, and in a temper which, if it may be accounted for, cannot be excused, they have used the power obtained by conquest with unrelenting

ferocity. Europe, for many a day, has not witnessed such a spectacle of barbarous self-will as that which the Germans have exhibited during the later period of this struggle. Every sentiment that might have softened the sterner features of their national character has been rigidly suppressed. Their blows upon the adversary have been merciless. The rapacity gendered by conquest has been boundless. Not even the provocations they had received—and doubtless they were many as well as great—will justify, in the eyes of the world, the conduct they have pursued. If such be "the sweetness and light" of Hellenic culture and taste, give us rather the moral depth and tenderer sympathy which have their roots in Hebraistic faith.

Germany, in her extreme self-assertion, has taken but a short-sighted view even of her own interests. Such a peace as she has just dictated to France, will inevitably alienate from her the respect of the civilised world. Henceforth, she will have to pursue her course, whatever it may be, sustained only by the energy of her own will. She has preferred to make a lasting foe of a powerful neighbour whom she might have converted by moderate generosity into a permanent friend. Her policy, for the future, towards France must be one of suspicious and ever-increasing vigilance. There can be no serious hope of bringing about, under the conditions which she has exacted from her victim, that diffused and interlacing spirit of friendship between the two peoples, which would have supplied material for all manner of pacific and commercial enterprise. It is not at all improbable that a consciousness of the ill reputation which she has acquired by her domineering temper, will sour her own soul, and render her quarrelsome amongst her neighbours. Her sin contains within it the seeds of its own punishment. It may be long in coming, but, in the present constitution of moral government in this world, it is inevitable. The evil she has inflicted upon herself will be likely enough to appear in altered tastes and habits. Her ambition will get the better of her, and make her meddlesome. Possibly, it may not be by France, that vengeance will be taken upon her; possibly, not even by any of the States of Europe. But, assuredly, the poison which is in her blood, and which she has done so much during the last few months to actively excite, will work out its own baneful effects, in her national history. The commencement of retribution appears even in these preliminaries of peace. They show that she has already descended in the scale of self-respect and moral dignity. She is not what she was. She has had a great opportunity, and missed it. When the fever of her passion has somewhat subsided, she will feel the reaction in the prostration of that moral force which is, after all, the most precious possession of any people. She has grasped at a vast money indemnity which will probably be employed to feed military ambition. Her children will be withdrawn so frequently from peaceful pursuits that they will lose their capacity for obtaining from them their best rewards. Even her intellectual culture may be indefinitely lowered by the new conditions under which her national life will become developed. The time, perhaps, is not so far distant as most of us would suppose, when she will look back upon her campaign in France as the foulest blot on her reputation, and as the heaviest curse upon her destiny.

We are thankful to have been preserved by the policy of our Government from any intervention in the hideous war which, we hope, we may now say has come to a close. Certainly, the scenes it has displayed, and the tendencies towards barbarism which it has been the means of illustrating, will not commend to the people of this realm a return to that official and officious policy of intervention which, we trust, has been for ever abandoned. We much prefer that sort of "effacement" which has been predicted as our lot, as a punishment for our neutrality, to the temporary supremacy which has been gained by Germany in this contest. As time runs on, the moral influence we shall have acquired by limiting our intervention to the tending of the sick and wounded, to the feeding of the hungry, and to the repairing of devastation, will tell with more effect upon the nations around us, upon our own character and position, and upon the influence that we can exercise for good on behalf of others, than any possible extension of our military renown. It may be hoped that we shall henceforth pursue our chosen path without fear of molestation, at least for many years to come. Who can predict what may be the effect of our example? Who knows whether the peoples of other States may not be inspired with the wish to see it imitated by their rulers? May the preliminaries of peace just signed help mightily in increasing everywhere a detestation of war!

THE SCOTCH EDUCATION BILL.

THE House of Lords exhibited its usual short-sightedness in 1869 when it rejected, or rather mutilated, the Parochial Schools (Scotland) Bill, drawn up by the then Lord Advocate, Mr. Moncrieff. That Bill contained only an instalment of reform, leaving most of the abuses connected with the Scotch national school system untouched. Mr. Young, his successor, has brought in this Session a more complete and comprehensive measure, which their Lordships, after last year's experience in reference to England, will find it more difficult to tamper with. The main provisions of the Lord Advocate's Bill have been thus briefly described:—"The object being to meet the educational wants of the country, which are at present not fully supplied and dependent to a large extent on voluntary effort, he takes as the basis of the new system the existing rate-supported schools, remodels them as to management and maintenance, and provides for their multiplication in the country districts and their extension in towns and burghs. There will be in Scotland, if the Bill becomes law, only one set of public schools, rate-supported and Government-aided; and this will represent the old parochial school system of the country, enlarged and improved to meet the wants and aspirations of the nineteenth century. The burgh schools and all other efficient, that is to say necessary, schools are included in the scope of the Bill, and for all of them there will be but one name. They will be the public schools of Scotland, designed to furnish not only elementary but secondary education to the people." In fact, public education north of the Tweed will, by the passing of this Bill, be divorced from clerical control.

The measure was debated for four hours by the Scotch members on Monday night, when it was read a second time, and elicited general approbation. The objections to its provisions urged by Mr. Gordon and other Scotch Conservatives were put in a very mild form. The Bill, it is complained, is altogether novel, at variance with precedent, and requires more time for consideration. The truth is, that the ascendancy of the Scotch Establishment is seriously threatened by Mr. Young's Bill, which actually ousts the present managers of parochial schools, and places them under the control of local boards elected by the ratepayers, subject to the approval of a Scotch Education Department hereafter to be created. The North is more fortunate than the South in respect to primary education, owing to the fact that the State Church is weak in one division of the kingdom and powerful in the other. Fancy the whole of the elementary schools of England being detached from the Church of England and the respective denominations, in order that they might be incorporated in a new national system! What a cry of horror would arise from the Episcopal Bench—what charges of spoliation and atheism would be flung at the heads of our Cabinet Ministers! Nevertheless this is the precise effect of the Scotch Education Bill. The Established Presbytery of Edinburgh do not conceal their consternation. They denounce the Lord Advocate's measure:—(1) Because it is essentially a secular bill, and not only provides no security for the maintenance of the religious element in education, but removes all existing security, and actually tends to discourage the teaching of religion; (2) because it revolutionises the parish schools, and destroys the connection subsisting hitherto between the Church and the parish schools; (3) because it substitutes, for a system under which the voluntary efforts of the friends of education are encouraged, another by which the schools will be supported and superintended by boards of ratepayers, whose interest it will be, as far as possible, to maintain the schools at the lowest possible expenditure, and so to lower the standard of education. This is plain speaking, which the champions of the Kirk in the House of Commons hardly venture to use. The alleged defects of the Bill, according to these advocates of monopoly, are in truth its chief merits. There is, happily, no Scotch bench of bishops to second their protests in the Upper House. So powerless is the Scotch Establishment when, as in the present case, Free-Churchmen and United Presbyterians are arrayed on the other side, that its partisans can only attempt to damage the Bill by the plea that it will impose new burdens on the ratepayers, and by raising a Scotch prejudice against the dictation of a London Board.

Into the merits of the intricate details of Mr. Young's Bill we do not feel qualified to enter. They may safely be left in the hands of the Scotch Liberals, happily an overwhelming majority of the representatives of the northern kingdom. Probably they will have a hard battle to fight on behalf of a measure which separates all primary schools from clerical control, and transfers them to local boards. If English Liberals have not been so fortunate, they will, we trust, exhibit their generosity and attachment to their principles, by strenuously supporting the Bill in its passage through the House of Commons. It was, however, very clearly pointed out by Mr. Maclaren on Monday night that the new system will be less expensive than the old—the rates required being less than an assessment of 18s. per head, the present charge on the population of Scotland, though they will fall heaviest on the poorer districts. The Bill leaves the religious question to be settled by the people themselves, but provides an effectual Conscience Clause.

When the Scotch Education Bill goes into Committee the leaders of the State Church will no doubt have stimulated their advocates in the House of Commons to a more determined opposition. But they can do little more than protest. The Liberal party will stand by the Government, and the English country squires are so little enamoured of Presbyterianism, that they are not likely to come to the rescue of the moribund Scotch Establishment. The Bill furnishes a valuable precedent which Radicals may hereafter quote to advantage, and which may be used with great effect when the question of Irish education comes up for settlement. The divorce effected in Scotland, by the Lord Advocate's Bill, between elementary education and the denominations, is a great fact, and if carried into operation, it will encourage the opponents of sectarian education in England. We wish the Scotch Liberals every success in removing the imperfections of Mr. Young's Bill—which are many and serious—and in carrying it by their united agency through the House of Commons by decisive majorities. The scheme evidently meets with great public approval north of the Tweed, and even the House of Lords will be chary of arousing the ire of the sturdy population of Scotland.

M. THIERS.

ONE of the strangest characteristics of what we may now happily designate the late war has been the series of events which has brought M. Thiers to the front as chief of the Executive to sign the humiliating Treaty which marks the complete overthrow of his own favourite foreign policy. It was this veteran statesman who, more than any other Frenchman, helped to canonise Napoleon I.; who was the means of erecting the fortifications of Paris, which uselessly prolonged the war; and who, in season and out of season, has instilled into the minds of his countrymen that sentiment of jealousy of neighbouring nations which has worked their ruin. M. Thiers, though never reconciled to the Second Empire, nor approving of the decision to commence hostilities last summer, never disguised his desire to prevent German unity by French intervention, nor concealed his favourite theory that the strength and prosperity of other countries were incompatible with the greatness of France. He has lived to see his Napoleonic idol shattered, the Second Empire broken up, and himself obliged almost to bend the suppliant's knee to the ruthless Germans at Versailles. Of his patriotism there can be no doubt. But it was selfish and dangerous, and deserved the failure which has awaited it.

Nevertheless M. Thiers is, for the moment, the most trusted man in France, where true statesmanship has, for the last twenty years, been discredited. No one can say that, among a people with whom success is the first condition of popular favour, M. Thiers will not, before many weeks, have been compelled to suffer the penalty which awaits in his own country the representative of national disaster, and be dethroned from his pedestal. Yet his patriotism never shone more brightly than in this extremity. It is the best reparation he could offer for a lifetime spent in teaching a pernicious political creed. When a fortnight ago M. Thiers, in accepting the onerous trust committed to him by the National Assembly, responded:—"Appalled as I am at the difficult, perilous, and, above all, painful task imposed upon me, my only feeling is that I must unhesitatingly and absolutely obey the commands of the country, which should be all the more readily obeyed and faithfully accomplished because the country is all the more loved for being unfortunate"—he spoke with high-minded courage and sincerity. It is possible that a statesman of his narrow calibre, but unquestioned devotion, is best fitted to tide his country over the present fearful crisis. Though still unable to conceal the national egotism—as when, in the same speech, he described France as "always firm, proud, inexhaustible in her resources, and above all, heroic"—he has thus far been faithful to his country, choosing his colleagues on account of their capacity rather

than their political bias, endeavouring to ascertain the real truth as to the condition of the country and sternly sweeping away all vain illusions.

M. Thiers has full confidence even at this terrible juncture "in the recuperative power" of France. How he will propose to apply the healing remedy is hardly yet known. All his antecedents would suggest that he is ill-fitted to become the saviour of his country, or to restore her prosperity. Up to the present moment he has been the most bigoted of Protectionists—his new Finance Minister being conspicuous for holding the same views—and the upholder of the system of centralisation which has sacrificed France for the sake of Paris. M. Thiers has apparently yet to learn the alphabet of modern statesmanship—to recant the prejudice of a long career if he would build up anew the fortunes of France. Whether the good that may result from his practical sense and hatred of imposture, will be counterbalanced by the false theories of Government he puts in practice, time will show. It is possible that even so dogmatic a statesman as M. Thiers may have learnt the true lessons of this disastrous war, and have painfully reached the conclusion that the recovery of his country is to be brought about by a strictly domestic policy, which will enable it to attain greatness by peaceful enterprise, a free constitution, and, above all, by the development of her local institutions. An old statesman rising above lifelong traditions to meet the new and critical circumstances of France would be a wonderful spectacle, little short of the miraculous.

We can hardly expect M. Thiers, whose political life has been cast in a rigid mould, should be able to reach such an elevation—that he should be able to import into the principles that guide his policy the broad and cosmopolitan aspirations of a Favre. Still, if he remains for awhile in power, he will probably endeavour to teach France a lesson of patience. If revenge is in his heart, it will not be on his lips. He may not be equal to the task of impressing his countrymen with the necessity of truthfulness, and the superiority of solid virtues to the glitter of stilted and conceited sentiment. But he will perhaps faithfully take the national will as his guide—and that will is, for the time being, adverse to the autocracy of the capital and the tutelage of functionaryism. The structure of French society has to be rebuilt from its foundations, and it is a supreme opportunity for broad and liberal statesmanship. Upon the events of the next six months, or rather upon the policy of those who guide her destinies, will depend whether France is to resume the wearying round of dynastic illusions, troubles, and revolutions, or rise regenerated and chastened into a new and nobler existence from the depths of national humiliation. We should indeed be agreeably surprised if M. Thiers were to be the instrument for effecting a real elevation of his countrymen.

"BOFFIN'S BOWER."

WITH the cessation of the active agitation in favour of the Saturday Half-Holiday and the early closing of our wholesale and retail trading establishments, we hear little of the present social condition of the many thousands of male and female assistants employed in these places. Public meetings, lectures, prize essays, newspaper articles, and Parliamentary debates, tended to familiarise us with the fact that much social misery and evil arose from the excessive length of the hours of toil; and that the overworked shop-assistant, no less than the factory worker, demanded our active sympathy and practical assistance in his efforts to procure a mitigation of his slave-like condition. But we know little or nothing of the practical results following the success of the early closing movement. How far has it affected for the better the social condition of the employed? Has it rendered more harmonious the relations of the hirer and the hired? These and a hundred other questions have to be answered, and we trust they will. The early-closing movement was a step, but a step only, towards the amelioration of the social condition of a large and important class of the community. But much more requires to be done before we can pause in our exertions. We have obtained a few hours' rest for thousands of our toiling brethren; have we provided them with the means of properly enjoying that rest? A City magistrate once observed that the increased hours of relief from toil were a curse rather than a blessing; are we sure that it is otherwise? If we place a man in a boat, but keep the oars out of his reach, we shall assist him but little in his voyage down the river. Our impression is that the condition of the majority of our shop assistants calls more than ever for calm and dispassionate investigation, with the view of supplying practical remedies for certain well-known existing evils. There is more of hardship and suffering among these people than we dream of. They are continually exposed to temptations from which we should recoil in fear and terror. Yet they are not supposed to be as other people. Even the hard lot of a simple mechanic is often preferable to theirs; for so large is the demand for employment, that salaries scarcely rise to a level sufficient to provide the recipients with lodging, food, and clothing. It is a struggle for mere existence. The warriors think not of victory, but of escape from being vanquished.

In the United States, large numbers of the male and female assistants employed in the various trading establishments which form such a conspicuous feature in New York, Boston, and other large cities, come from the rural districts, being attracted thence by the desire to better their prospects, or by a love of excitement and pleasure. In several of the leading establishments, the principals, animated by a praiseworthy desire to protect as much as possible those in their employ from the temptations which beset them in every direction, have taken steps to procure them suitable lodging accommodation, where the comforts and luxuries of a well-ordered home are procurable on very easy terms. One such place has been described to us. The whole of the upper floors, that is, above the shops and show-rooms on the first-floor, were set apart for the use of the *employés*, one portion being used by the male assistants, and the other being reserved for the exclusive use of the opposite sex. Each division had its own sitting-rooms, dining-rooms, bedrooms, and lavatories. The sitting-rooms were large, well-lighted, handsomely-furnished, and provided with books, stereoscopes, and pianofortes. There was also a spacious hall or saloon, used on Sundays for religious gatherings, and on other occasions for tea-parties and similar purposes. But such places are, as in this country, the exception rather than the rule. In London, we could name several establishments in which the social and moral welfare of the employed is assiduously looked after by the employers; but the comparative rarity of these only renders their value and utility more observable. The number of assistants thus protected by their employers does not exceed some few hundreds out of the many thousands to be found in the metropolis alone. In the majority of trading establishments, the proprietors do not concern themselves in the least as to how their assistants may employ the hours during which their services are not required behind the counter. So long as they are punctual in attendance, assiduous in the discharge of their duties, and dress respectably, the assistants may do as they like after shop hours. A narrow interpretation of the principles of political economy would not allow of more than this. But because a master has no power over his labourers beyond the terms of their contract, there is no reason why each should not strive to assist the other in outside matters. Capital, like labour, has its duties as well as its rights, and if these duties were more generally attended to, we should not need Factory Acts, and other similar modes of attempting to repair by legislative action, the mischief arising from a mistaken rendering of the doctrines of economical science.

For the great mass of young men and women employed in the metropolitan shops and warehouses, very little social provision has been made. Fortunate, indeed, are they if they possess parental homes to which they can return at the end of their daily labour. But there are not many who are thus blessed. The bulk of assistants procure lodging accommodation how, when, or where they best can. They naturally seek to obtain what they require on the cheapest terms, for their resources are not by any means great, and they have to make the most of small salaries. Five shillings per week for a bedroom does not leave much out of eighteen shillings for food, clothing, and other expenses. In the case of young women, the conditions are even harder; for their rate of remuneration is considerably below that received by their male colleagues, although their expenses are almost equally large. If out of employ they are at once both penniless and helpless. Their salaries are too low to admit of them saving more than a few shillings. Of course there are exceptions, but we are not speaking of these. Here comes the peculiar danger to which such girls are exposed. If they be good-looking, they will find no lack of admirers, and, unless they possess a more than ordinary firmness of mind, the moment of temptation may find them too weak to escape falling into the snare. Of the crowds of fallen miserable women that haunt our great thoroughfares after dark, not a few have been shopkeepers' assistants, and the manner in which the want of proper homes has assisted materially in procuring the downfall and degradation of these unhappy creatures, is illustrated by the fact that the greater number come from the country—principally the agricultural districts—and possess no friend or relative in the metropolis. And so with the young men. It is the want of homes that renders the music-hall and concert-room so popular. If they cannot live at home they must live elsewhere. The Young Men's Christian Associations which have been formed in different parts of London, have been of much service in providing means of good and wholesome intellectual recreation for numbers of our shop-assistants, but they are neither so numerous or popular as they ought to be. Moreover, they are attended almost exclusively by young men. For young women, in whose case the need is far greater, no means of innocent social recreation exist, unless, indeed, they belong to some religious body; in which case they speedily form pleasant friendships and find plenty of congenial occupation.

But what is to be done for those who do not belong to any religious community? We cannot ignore their existence. They claim our attention in a hundred ways. And so it is across the Atlantic. The difficulty is felt as keenly in Boston or New York as in London; only in America they are a little more practical than we in England. While we are asking what should be done, our go-ahead cousins are actually doing it. In Boston, for instance, there has recently been started an institution known as "Boffin's Bower." A kindly-hearted Boston lady—a Miss Collins—noted that the young people in the trading establishments and workshops of her native town were hungering for healthful amusement and recreation after the toil of the day. So, to meet this want, she established what she rather fancifully termed "Boffin's Bower"—she is a great admirer of Charles Dickens—where the "family" meet three or four evenings in the week to enjoy music, singing, reading, &c. The institution was very successful. Many intelligent young people frequented it, and were thus preserved from the many temptations to which otherwise they would have been exposed. Moreover, the germs of intellectual taste were developed, and a liking for pure and elevating recreation fostered. But by-and-by the quick eye of Miss Collins detected little rifts of cloud among the sunshine. She discovered expressions of sadness in faces once bright and cheerful, and was not long in discovering the cause. Want of employment will damp the liveliest spirit, and it was no wonder that there should be care in the hearts of those who had no home save the comfortless lodgings which sheltered them only so long as they punctually paid their rent. And so it came to pass that in process of time "Boffin's Bower" became a kind of agency, by means of which situations were obtained by those needing the same. All day long the "Bower" is filled with young women so neatly and tastefully dressed, so gentle and lady-like many of them, that a stranger would never imagine they were seeking employment, and saying, "I will do anything I am able to do." There is nothing of an eleemosynary character about the institution; it is wholly self-supporting, its usefulness and popularity being due in no small measure to the noble-hearted lady with whom it originated. It is based on strictly business principles, and requires help from none. This is the right kind of institution. But why have we not the same in England? Surely there is room for a "Boffin's Bower" in London, at any rate.

THE NONCONFORMIST PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In the recent Cambridge Local Examination the pupils of Mill Hill School came off with great credit. In the Class List just published it appears that four seniors have passed, two of them with honours and one with a mark of special distinction in religious knowledge; also ten juniors, two of whom are in honours. There are 106 boys in the school this term.

At the recent Local Cambridge Examination ten pupils from the Eastern Counties Nonconformist Grammar School at Bishop's Stortford passed most creditably. One pupil also passed the January matriculation examination. The school opened this term with a large increase in the number of scholars.

At the same examination ten pupils were sent up from Tettenhall Proprietary School, nine of whom passed, including a son of the Rev. T. G. Horton, of Wolverhampton, who passed with honours and gained special mention in the six subjects for which he entered. The *Midland Counties Express* says that "Robert J. Horton was not only the first junior candidate in this division of the country, but he was first in the whole of England, which is a great honour, not for the boy himself alone, but also for the school in which he is being brought up."

Court, Official, and Personal News.

Her Majesty the Queen held a Drawing-room at Buckingham Palace on Thursday. The Queen wore a black silk dress with a train trimmed with crape and jet, and a head-dress of pearls and diamonds over a long white tulle veil. Her Majesty also wore a pearl necklace and a diamond-and-pearl brooch with the Riband and Star of the Order of the Garter, the Orders of Victoria and Albert, and Louise of Prussia and the Saxe-Coburg and Gotha Family Order. The presentations were very limited.

A statement is published that Her Majesty has been vaccinated, and wishes the fact to be generally known.

The first levée of the season was held by the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Queen, at St. James's Palace, on Saturday afternoon. About 170 presentations were made.

The Prince and Princess of Wales and three of their children left Marlborough House on Saturday for Windsor on a visit to the Queen. The Royal dinner-party on Saturday included the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Prince and Princess Christian, Princess Louise and Prince Arthur, and Lord and Lady Suffield. Mr. Goschen arrived at the Castle on Saturday.

The Duc de Broglie, ambassador for the Government of France, had an audience of the Queen on Friday at Buckingham Palace, and presented his credentials. Count Bernstorff also attended and presented his credentials as German ambassador.

The *Daily News* says that the state of Mr. Childers's health is such as to make it improbable that he will resume his duties as First Lord of the Admiralty. The Enchantress, from Lisbon, with Mr. Childers on board, put into Falmouth yesterday morning. Mr. Childers's health is slightly improved, although very weak.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is now with his family at Mentone. His Grace goes out daily.

Sir Walter James, Bart., has been appointed a Director of the National Gallery, in place of Lord Overstone, who retires.

Mr. Goschen has consented to his name being added to the list of Vice-Presidents of the Charity Organisation Society.

It is stated that a marriage is arranged between Mr. Vernon Harcourt, M.P., and Mrs. Ives, eldest daughter of Mr. Motley, the late American Minister in London.

The M.A.'s of London University have made representations to the authorities at Burlington House, to the effect that the examinations at the University are too stringent, and it is probable that the standard will be lowered.

It is rumoured that the state of Lord Redesdale's health continues to be extremely critical.

The death of Mr. Leo Schuster, the head of the firm of Messrs. Schuster, Son, and Co., is announced.

The Admiralty have ordered all the officials connected with the departments at Whitehall and Somerset House to be revaccinated.

THE BALLOT BILL.

Mr. W. E. Forster's Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal) Bill has been issued. It consists of forty-five clauses, the second of which contains the regulations for the nomination and election of members. Public notice is to be given by the returning officer of the time and place at which he will proceed to the election. On the day named he is to sit for two hours (between one and five o'clock p.m.) in "a convenient room," and there to receive nomination papers. Each paper must be signed by two electors, as the proposer and seconder of the candidate, and by eight other electors, "as assenting to the nomination of the candidate." Except with the express sanction of the returning officer, no other person is to be entitled to attend the nomination. If only as many candidates are nominated as there are vacancies to be filled, they are to be deemed to be elected, and public notice of their return is to be given. But in case of any excess of candidates, the constituency is to be polled by ballot, the regulation as to which is as follows:—

The ballot paper shall contain the name and address and description of every candidate nominated, as provided by this Act, and of no other persons, and shall have the candidates arranged in alphabetical order, and shall have printed opposite each name the figure of a square.

In this square the voter is to place a cross, if he desires to support that candidate. The paper is to be deposited in the ballot-box, and care is taken by its being stamped before issue to the voter, that no other is used. Forthwith the elector is to quit the polling-booth. At the close of the poll the returning-officer is to count the votes in the presence of such agents of the candidates as may attend. He is then to certify as to who are returned, and to send the ballot papers, both used and unused, to a keeper, who, after the interval of a year, is to cause them to be destroyed. All the expenses are to be apportioned amongst the parishes and defrayed by the ratepayers. There is a saving clause as to the Universities.

In committee on the bill Sir Charles Dilke will move to extend the hours of polling from the present limits of eight to four to those of eight to eigth. Sir Henry Hoare will propose a clause to abolish paid canvassing.

THE WAR.

TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED.

The special correspondent of the *Times* telegraphs from Versailles at noon on Monday as follows:—"Peace at last! The preliminaries of the Treaty of Peace arranged between Count Bismark and M. Thiers were signed at half-past four yesterday afternoon in Versailles, immediately after which the French negotiator returned to Paris, where the Delegation and Council were summoned to receive the report, and then to proceed to Bordeaux to obtain the ratification, of which no doubt is entertained. The terms of 200,000,000*l.* sterling in Rentes to be guaranteed. Alsace and the Department of German Lorraine, with Metz, to be ceded, but Belfort to remain to France. Part of Paris will be militarily occupied to-day without any formal entry by the troops. The Emperor and the Crown Prince will not reside in Paris, but will visit it. The Emperor gives a banquet to-night to the King of Wurtemburg."

In another telegram the same correspondent says:—"The armistice is now prolonged to the 12th of March. Advices from Paris indicate great excitement among the lower orders, and fears are expressed by respectable people that the German occupation will be made a pretext for outrage. The Convention for the entry of the German troops published in the Paris papers provides for the occupation of Paris between the Seine and the Rue Faubourg St. Honoré, and from the Place de la Concorde to Ternes (?) by 30,000 men until the ratification of the Treaty by the Assembly. They will make no requisition, and be quartered on public property. French troops will be kept to the left bank of the Seine, and will not be allowed to enter the German lines. If the armistice be broken off, three days' notice must be given on either side before the renewal of hostilities. Count Bismark is not very well, but transacts business. Paris was calm up to two o'clock yesterday afternoon, but it was then thought the German troops would not enter, although the press was preparing people's minds for the possibility of such an event."

The Emperor-King has sent the following telegram to the Empress-Queen:—

IMPERIAL HEAD-QUARTERS, VERSAILLES, Feb. 26.

With deeply-moved heart, and with thankfulness to the grace of God, I inform you that the preliminaries of peace have just been signed. They have yet to be ratified by the National Assembly at Bordeaux.

WILLIAM.

The King of Bavaria has received the following telegram from the Emperor of Germany, dated Monday:—

With a heart filled with thankfulness, I announce to you that the preliminaries of peace were yesterday afternoon signed here by which Alsace, without Belfort, Lorraine with Metz, was ceded to Germany. Five milliards are to be paid, and portions of France are to remain occupied until the amount is paid. Paris will be partially occupied if the ratification at Bordeaux follows. We are now at the end of a glorious but bloody war, which was forced upon us with frivolity without parallel, and in which your troops have taken so honourable a part. May the greatness of Germany be consolidated in peace!

The *Journal des Débats* confirms the news already telegraphed respecting the leading features of the conditions of peace. It says that, during the three years allowed for the payment of the war indemnity, 50,000 German troops will occupy Champagne. They will not have the right of levying requisitions, but will be kept at the expense of the French Government. In the event of the payment of the indemnity before the three years have elapsed, Champagne will be evacuated at once.

On Monday there was a meeting of the deputies of the Extreme Left at Bordeaux, when a fresh attempt was made to secure the adhesion of the party of the Moderate Left to a protest which they had drawn up against all peace based upon a cession of territory. Louis Blanc and Victor Hugo both spoke. The former urged that the union of the Republican party would produce an excellent effect. The majority of the meeting held that all manifestations of opinion were untimely until the conditions of peace were known. M. Gambetta proposed to suspend the protest until the National Assembly were officially cognisant of the result of the negotiations, and expressed a hope that the whole party of the Left would then adopt the same line of conduct. This proposal was partially adopted, without, however, the members of the Moderate Left entering into any formal engagement.

The *Daily News* publishes the following despatch, dated Versailles, Sunday morning:—

There is every reason to suppose that the preliminaries of peace were signed before the statesmen at Count Bismark's went to bed. The French and German representatives were eagerly discussing the terms of peace up to a late hour last night, and the result was not known in Versailles when twelve o'clock struck. The sore point was Metz. The French tried hard to retain that famous city—to retain it without fortifications if necessary, but still to keep the place as part of France. The Germans urged that Metz must belong to them, to secure them against invasion. M. Thiers pleaded the nationality of the inhabitants; but he was reminded that those among them who did not like to become Germans had been promised ample time in which to wind up their affairs, sell their property, and retire to France. When MM. Thiers and Favre came to Versailles yesterday afternoon, between one and two o'clock, they knew that a final bout of diplomatic bargaining must be gone through. No time could be spared, for only a day intervened between them and the possible advance of Prince Frederick Charles against the southern departments. There had been a hint of renewing the armistice, which Count Bismark had thought quite reasonable if done for a consideration; but M. Thiers had resolved that it would be better to pay for no more delay. No time could be spared, and most of the minor points of the German programme were soon adopted. I think it will be found that the entry into Paris was among them; but M. Thiers struggled hard about Metz. He knew that the Assembly at Bordeaux would be very difficult to convince in the matter. To give up Metz is the bitterest pang of all to Frenchmen.

The Versailles correspondent of the *Telegraph* is informed that M. Thiers offered another milliard of thalers, in addition to the sum proposed in settlement of the indemnity claim, if Germany would withdraw her claim to Metz; and that his admission of the possibility that under any circumstances another milliard might be extracted from the pockets of his countrymen was at once caught up and used as a means of additional pressure upon him. From another source the same writer hears that M. Thiers proposed the purchase by France of Luxembourg from the King of Holland, who is known to be anxious to sell it to the highest bidder, and its formal transfer to Germany, on condition that Metz be restored. This scheme, though tempting in many respects, was, it would seem, also rejected.

The following document appears in the *Journal Officiel* of yesterday:—

The preliminaries of peace have been signed to-day. They will be submitted to the vote of the National Assembly. A new armistice of fifteen days puts an end from the present moment to the contributions and requisitions which every day aggravated. In spite of every effort it has not been possible to prevent the entry of a part of the German army into certain quarters of Paris. We need not describe the feelings which this trial, which the Government would have desired to spare the city of Paris, excites. The German negotiators had proposed to abandon any entry into Paris if the important fortress of Belfort were definitively surrendered. The reply was that if Paris could be consoled in its sufferings, it would be by the thought that this suffering procured for the country the restitution of one of its bulwarks, so often rendered illustrious by the resistance of its soldiers. We appeal, then, to the patriotism of the inhabitants of Paris to remain calm and united. Dignity in misfortune is at the same time honour, and the courage of those whom fortune has betrayed ought also to be their hope of a better future.

ERNEST PICARD, Minister of the Interior.

Paris, Feb. 26, 1871.

The following is from Versailles, dated Monday night:—"The fortresses on the northern frontier, which are of little use as long as the neutrality of Belgium be respected, are left to France; but Longwy is annexed to Germany. France is thus relieved of all anxiety about Luxembourg. There are 65,000 souls more than Germany expected thus added to her population. Thionville, of course, goes too. The surrender of Metz was the severest blow of all; so resolute was the refusal to give it up that M. Thiers is said to have been on the eve of accepting war before he yielded. He defended the rights of France with greater energy than Marshal Bazaine. He went to the Emperor-King, appealed to the Crown Prince, argued and expostulated and resisted, but the Chancellor would have Metz. Germany was resolved on Metz, and without it her victories and her sacrifices would be nothing. It is almost incredible that M. Thiers ever thought Germany and Count Bismark could agree to let Metz remain in French hands. Belfort, however, will be left to France. The Saarbruck, Pont-à-Mousson, and the iron ore districts will be taken away from her. Luneville and Nancy are left. The sum of 200,000,000*l.* is to be paid in three years, and meantime, as a guarantee for payment, the Germans are to occupy Champagne, but Baron Rothschild, who was called in to advise in finance, is reported to have said that as soon as the treaty was signed France would be able to raise and pay the money in one year, and get rid of the Germans. Prince Frederick Charles is named, it is said, as Governor of Champagne, with headquarters at Rheims. At the close of yesterday's interview there was a stormy scene. Count Bismark became impatient of delay, not being very well at the time, and insisted on the signature of the treaty or the close of the discussion. In his words, war would then begin to rage between the German troops and whatever they could find to fight. M. Thiers had to sign. When all was over the Emperor sent for the Crown Prince. They embraced tenderly, and the father and son wept for joy and thankfulness. His Majesty will leave at the end of this week to visit his new possessions, and to go through the German cities slowly to Berlin, where he will open Parliament in person on March 14. The Crown Prince sent a telegraphic despatch to the Queen of England last night. The cessation of hostilities has been notified to all posts and troops."

No positive particulars (says the *Times* City article) transpired except as regards the amount—200 millions sterling; but it has been generally believed that of this total 40 millions will have to be supplied during the present year and 160 millions within the three following years. A favourable effect will therefore be produced should the final details show any mitigation of these terms.

A Berlin telegram of Monday says:—"The city is in the greatest excitement; the principal streets are

crowded, and many houses are decorated with flags. Large crowds are assembling before the Royal Palace, and great preparations are being made for a general illumination this evening."

INTERVENTION OF ENGLAND.

The *Journal des Débats* speaks of a despatch having been sent by the English Government to Prussia which manifested favourable intentions on the part of Great Britain towards France, but which as yet has not had any efficacious result.

As late as Friday night the English Government, after conferring with the French Ambassador in London, interposed by telegraph, through Mr. Odo Russell, their good offices at Versailles in favour of France, and not entirely without result. The confining of the Prussian military demonstration to the Avenue from the Barrière de l'Etoile to the Place de la Concorde is said to be due to the exertions of the English Government.

The *Cologne Gazette* asserts that the signature of the preliminaries of peace was delayed by the intervention of England.

Russia, Austria, and Italy, decline to interfere in any way, and England will also take an isolated part in the definitive peace negotiations.

THE GERMAN REQUISITIONS.

A requisition was levied upon Versailles on Tuesday. It was at first fixed at a million francs, but upon a representation of the poverty of the inhabitants the Germans reduced the demand to 300,000f. They ordered 100,000f. to be paid before five p.m. With great difficulty this was done, and the other 200,000f. was to be paid in a few days. A requisition of ten millions of francs has been made on the department.

The contribution imposed on Alençon, in the Department of the Orne, not having been paid, the Prussians carried away the goods from the principal shops. A tribute of 545,000f. has been imposed upon Honfleur.

At Dieppe, on the 23rd, another body of 1,200 Mecklenburgers arrived, and were lodged on the inhabitants. Great dissatisfaction was felt at these continued demands, the town having been occupied during the whole of the armistice, besides several times previously.

The Prussians have imposed a contribution of 800,000f. on St. Denis, the suburb of Paris which was so severely bombarded.

The Emperor has remitted several millions of francs imposed upon the Department of the Somme.

The *Paris Journal* asserts that at the request of M. Thiers Count Bismark has given orders to put an end to the requisitions which are being made in France, and that the Chancellor has declared that all the contributions levied since the 28th of January would be deducted from the general war indemnity.

In reply to the *Moniteur Officiel* of Versailles, which had been endeavouring to justify the enormous Prussian requisitions by the sacrifices which are continually being made by Germany, and by the contributions levied by the Republic and the First Empire, the French journals retort that they believed civilisation had been advancing since the days of the Republic and of the First Empire, and recall the conduct of the French during the Crimean and Italian wars.

GREAT AGITATION IN PARIS.

(*Times* telegram.)

PARIS, Monday.—The agitation in Paris is indescribable. The streets have been filled with armed men. The people have been out in myriads all night, and this morning the National Guards have been marching with arms. Vengeance is vowed against the Emperor, the Prussians, and all traitors. You will have known before this reaches you the terms of peace. They have fallen on the population like a thunderbolt, and the city is in a state of frenzy. Even the most moderate among the better classes seem astonished now that they have to face the reality.

The *Journal des Débats* says:—"Our conquerors have used their victory cruelly; their demands, financial and territorial, have been such that in the conference with M. Bismark our negotiators, M. Thiers and M. Jules Favre, have several times been on the point of breaking off, even at the risk of seeing the war recommence last night. The Commission of the National Assembly partook of the emotion of the negotiators when the conditions were communicated to them. It is death at heart and having nothing more to hope except in the justice of God that have forced them to submit to the frightful yoke of necessity."

I have just heard that great numbers of the people are under arms in La Villette, but the city is as yet tranquil, the armed National Guards and others confining themselves to demonstrations. The regular troops are still under arms. They will occupy the whole of the section or district assigned to the Prussians on Tuesday next, and will guard the approaches against the National Guard. They will fall back as the Germans enter. A collision between the troops and National Guard seems certain unless the former refuse to fire upon the citizens.

(From the *Daily Telegraph*.)

PARIS, Monday, 3 a.m.—The order for disturbances emanates from the Working Men's Committee of the International Association and the Fédération Ouvrière. Belleville is very agitated. Rioters have been seized and a depot of cartridges. This morning the inhabitants declare they will fight the regular troops who desire to block up the city. The rioters of the united clubs declare they no longer recognise the Government of Vinoy, as he, being a prisoner of war, has no right to command. Yesterday afternoon, at half-past four, the National Guards went to the Prison of Ste. Pélagie, and forced the Director Laberste to give up the prisoners Brunel and Piazza. The Director was threatened with death if he resisted. He yielded them up. Great excitement is displayed in the disturbed districts, especially in Belleville.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAMS.)

PARIS, Monday night.—Public feeling continues to run high, and chiefly among the lower classes. A rumour is current that the artillery corps of the National Guard wishes to point its guns on the Champs Elysées, to prevent the entry of the Germans. The military authorities are taking precautionary measures to prevent any insane attempts to stop the Germans from entering.

Feb. 27, 12.30 p.m.—Yesterday evening there was a great patriotic agitation in Paris, caused by a rumour of an immediate entry of the Prussians. The *rappel* was sounded in all parts of the city, and the National Guard hastened to the Champs Elysées and to different points on the ramparts to repel the enemy, but no disturbance took place, and quiet was restored by midnight. This morning the excitement is still very great. Numerous crowds assembled round the placards containing M. Picard's communication. It is stated that the whole of the quarter occupied by the Prussians will be enclosed by barricades, and the military authorities will take every precaution to prevent a conflict. Last night a number of persons in great excitement broke into the prison of Ste. Pélagie and freed Commandants Piazza and Brunel, who were detained there in custody. All to-day's newspapers, including those representing the ultra-Radical party, advise the people to abstain from any manifestation during the presence of the German troops. The newspapers announce that they will not appear on the day of the German entry into Paris. The opinion is general among the inhabitants that the Germans have insisted upon entering the city in the belief that a conflict will occur, and that an opportunity will thus be afforded them of imposing fresh and more heavy war contributions upon Paris, but hopes are expressed that the wisdom of the Parisian population will falsify such expectations.

THE ORLEANS PRINCES.

The Prince de Joinville, has transmitted a letter, dated the 20th inst., to M. Grèvy, the President of the National Assembly, in which he says:—"Summoned by the electors of the Departments of the Manche and Haute Marne to the honour of representing them, I immediately set out to perform the duties which had been confided to me by universal suffrage. Being informed that the verification of my election has been reserved, I shall await with deference the decision of the National Assembly." A letter identical in terms with the above has been sent to M. Grèvy by the Duc d'Aumale.

The *Journal de Bordeaux* says:—"The Duke d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville are staying in the arrondissement of Libourne, in the Department of the Gironde. They at first intended coming to Bordeaux, but M. Thiers, being made aware of their intention, strongly blamed it, saying that the law by which they are proscribed still is in force, and adding: 'It is my duty to put that law into force, but it does not suit me to apply it. This state of things, however, imposes upon me another duty, that of resigning my functions, which I shall certainly do if they show themselves in Bordeaux.' A friend of the princes went to meet them, and prevailed upon them to remain at Libourne."

The retirement of the Orleans family from their candidature has produced a feeling of very great sorrow in the Department of the Somme.

The Princes of the Orleans family are the guests of the Duke Decazes. Their friends have been making great efforts at the present moment to induce them to quit French territory, and they have left for Biarritz.

The *Gazette de France* publishes an extract from a letter said to have been addressed by the Count of Paris to a friend in Bordeaux. His Royal Highness says:—"What may be done in France by the representatives of France will be well done. Anything that might be attempted from without would be premature and fruitless. I have no thought of personal ambition, but will labour sincerely for the solution which may appear best calculated to assure France that free, stable, and honest government of which she stands in need. If a political agreement is to be attained, it is upon the basis of the Constitution that all stipulations should bear. The chief thing is to obtain support for the triumph of those classes which will guarantee us a liberal pact. Personal questions cannot be the subject of any conditions. The idea of stipulating an abdication is inadmissible. We must reject it absolutely. It is necessary to be firm upon questions of principle only, not upon questions of persons."

NOTES AND INCIDENTS.

It is announced by the Paris *Moniteur* that General Trochu, at the request of M. Thiers, has resigned his office, and retired into private life.

The Garibaldian corps in the East are to be disbanded, and Menotti and Ricciotti Garibaldi have sent in their resignations.

The German papers contain reports to the effect that the ex-Emperor intends to leave Wilhelmshöhe immediately after the conclusion of peace. England, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain, are variously spoken of as likely to be selected as his place of refuge.

The Executive Committee of the French Peasant Farmers' Seed Fund have shipped a quantity of wheat to Boulogne, for distribution in the district around Amiens. At the meeting on Friday it was ordered that the sum of 5,000*l.*, contributed by the French Relief Fund, be expended in seed corn, and shipped early next week to St. Nazaire, for the district of La Beauce. Colonel Elphinstone, of the National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War, having offered his services in superintending the distribution of the seed, it was resolved that the work be entrusted to him and to his colleagues.

The wheat crop having been frozen throughout the North of France and Artois, the seed is now being sown over again.

The composition of the French National Assembly is thus defined by a member of it:—Two hundred resolute Legitimists, one hundred decided Orleanists, one hundred Republicans, fifty *canaille*. This accounts for four hundred and fifty, and there remain three hundred who may probably be best described as lovers of peace.

It is said that a motion is shortly to be introduced into the French Assembly, supported by Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, and Henri Rochefort, calling for the surrender of Louis Napoleon, with a view to his impeachment as General-in-Chief of the Armies of the Rhine.

M. Ledru-Rollin, having previously refused to stand as a candidate for the National Assembly, has tendered his resignation for the three departments for which he had been elected.

An inquiry has been held in Germany which entirely exonerated General Ducrot from the charges of which he was accused, and completely established the truth of his statements. The General has gone to Bordeaux to take his seat in the National Assembly.

M. Buffet has refused to accept office from the new French Government as Minister for Finance. His refusal has been attributed to various causes. A Bordeaux journal asserts that it is simply due to his dread of the burden of office at such a critical period. M. Pouyer-Quertier, the well-known Protectionist advocate, is said to have accepted the unthankful office. He is, of course, a formidable opponent of the Treaty of Commerce with England.

Despatches from Algiers announce an insurrection among the Arabs, which, however, had been completely suppressed.

Charivari has a design which forcibly depicts the gloomy fortunes of France. A female figure is represented in a fainting posture, leaning on a buckler, on which the word "France" is inscribed. On the breast of the figure are two gaping wounds, to explain the signification of which the artist has introduced in small capitals the names Alsace and Lorraine. A French mother points out the figure to her son, who, cap in hand, fixes his eyes with an expression of intense grief on the scene, to which his attention is called by the words, "You see, my boy, you will have to close those wounds."

The *Propagateur de Lille* appeals to all electors to sign a petition which is lying at its offices, asking that the National Assemblies of France may not again meet in Paris.

The mortality in Paris has lessened from 5,000 to 4,000, and the cases of smallpox have fallen to 200.

It is rumoured that M. de Courcelles will go to Rome in the quality of French Ambassador.

Official reports submitted to the eight Committees of the Assembly respecting the actual condition of France, in a political, financial, commercial, and military sense, have materially aided M. Thiers in achieving his momentous task. They have revealed a state of disaster so terrible as to crush all aspirations for further resistance.

The triumphal entry of the victorious troops into the Prussian capital will probably be delayed for at least two months after the Emperor's return—as the whole of Prussia, and in all likelihood of South Germany as well, will observe a period of six weeks' profound mourning for the victims of the war, during which time all places of public amusement will be closed. The 1st of May is spoken of as a likely date for the march-in of the Guard.

M. Jules Favre has addressed a letter, dated the 22nd, to his late colleagues the members of the Government of National Defence, in which he refers to the friendship he entertains for them, and says he could have wished that in the transformation going on they could all have remained on an equal footing in the service of the Republic. It required an imperious necessity, he adds, to make him consent to the change.

M. Duchâtel will go to Madrid as French Ambassador.

Count Daru is now spoken of as likely to be appointed French ambassador at Vienna. The Austrian Government is said to have expressed its willingness to receive him.

Mr. Odo Russell dined with the German Emperor on Friday night.

The opening of the German Parliament has been postponed from the 9th to the 16th of March.

The Prussian *Moniteur Officiel* states that 602 field-pieces belonging to the Army of Paris have been handed over to the German army, and that 1,357 guns in perfect condition were found by the Germans in the Paris forts.

At the fall of the Empire the Public Debt of France stood at 518,000,000*l.*, at which time our own was less than 750,000,000*l.* On the 24th of October a six per cent. French loan of 10,000,000*l.* sterling was issued, and since then an immense addition has been made to the indebtedness of France. It is believed that it will now be necessary to raise from 70 to 100 millions sterling, for the purpose of commencing the restoration of the establishments of France destroyed during the war, for granting indemnities, making repayments, and for other necessary purposes. A war indemnity of 200 millions coming in addition to these burdens will swell the debt of France to a height much beyond our own.

According to a Bordeaux telegram, the bases of the Government scheme for the military reorganisation of France are said to be as follows:—"The army will be disbanded *en bloc*; the officers of all ranks of the regular army will only be retained on their passing an examination proving them to be really worthy; the class of 1871 will constitute the nucleus of a fresh army, in which promotion by seniority and favour will be abolished, and no rank, high or low, be attainable without a public examination in the camps to which all specially military schools will be transferred. Administrative reorganisation on an extensive scale is also projected, chiefly with the view of simplifying the present system, of abolishing sinecures, reducing the number of officials, and distributing them better over the different departments."

The question of holding in the Palace of Versailles the meetings of the National Assembly is beginning seriously to occupy public attention. Its proximity to the capital, and the facilities of communication between the two cities, remove the objections raised to a removal of the National Parliament to Tours, Blois, or Bordeaux.

A letter from Laon says that the Prussians have mined the citadel there, in order to blow it up on the conclusion of the armistice, and that the fortresses of Soissons, La Fère, Mézières, and Sedan are to share the same fate.

The New York City Fund, for the relief of the poor of France, has reached the handsome figure of 70,000 dols., but will be yet largely increased.

It is stated that the costs incurred by France on account of the war are up to the present 140,000,000*l.*

General Aurelles des Paladines has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of the Seine.

Messrs. Clark and Co., of Ipswich, have received an order for 60,000 pairs of shoes and 60,000 gaiters for the French army.

Count Bismark addressed on the 17th inst., a circular note to the representatives of the German Empire in foreign countries, in which he gives fresh proofs that the French troops frequently made use of explosive bullets, and adds that fresh examples had been brought to his notice of other breaches of the Geneva Convention.

The *Journal Officiel* announces that a lamentable incident occurred on Friday at the Republican manifestation which took place on the Place de la Bastille. A band of rioters seized a police-agent, and, after fastening him to a board, threw him into the Seine. Upon the unfortunate man attempting to regain the shore, he was driven back into the stream with stones, where he finally was drowned. A magistrate who attempted to save him was obliged to take refuge in a neighbouring barrack to avoid a similar fate.

A French decree dated 15th February allows the exportation of butter and eggs.

There are now about 100,000 troops in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux.

EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

WAITING FOR BREAKFAST.—A correspondent of the *Times* in Paris describes an extraordinary scene of which he was a witness:—"I had heard on the occasion of my previous visit to the Rue des Petits Pères, the scene of Mr. Moore's distribution, that the applicants took up their positions over night in a *queue*, so as to be among the first served in the morning, and, determined to verify the fact, I accompanied Colonel Stuart Wortley at midnight to the locality in question. Passing through streets still dark and silent in Paris at this hour, we reached the Bourse, and already the hum, one might almost say the subdued roar, of thousands of voices struck the ear. In a moment we came upon the outskirts of what was apparently a mighty crowd, though it was too dark to see much until we found ourselves actually in the midst of a dense mass of women and children, heaped upon one another in amicable confusion, and extending down the street as far as the eye could penetrate its gloom. Not that it was altogether dark, for numbers of candles flitted through the crowd, or formed the centre of groups of squatting or dozen figures. The scene was so unexpected and unique that for a moment it was difficult to realise that here were at least 10,000 human beings who were deliberately bivouacking in the streets of the most beautiful and luxurious capital in Europe for the sole object of being the first to receive some bread and cheese in the morning. The *queue* extended probably half a mile. The extreme end, composed of the last arrivals, were still standing in close and serried ranks, as if they were awaiting an event which was immediately to come off. The row was four or five deep. Every woman had her ticket, and most of them a basket, and they were laughing and chatting merrily, although they had already been standing in the same spot several hours. I asked one of them when she expected to arrive at the door of the warehouse where she would receive her portion. 'The day after to-morrow morning, Monsieur,' she replied, as calmly as if she was talking of a journey to St. Petersburg. 'What, are you prepared to pass two successful nights in the streets?' I asked. '*Pourquoi pas?*' she said; 'all the others do it.' 'Do you think what you receive at last will be worth waiting for for forty-eight hours?' 'I don't mind waiting any more than my neighbours for what those good English send us; they tell us it is well worth while, and be assured, Monsieur, we shall never forget the generosity which has given us food when we wanted it so much.'" The *Figaro* describes the *queue* of persons ever waiting in the neighbourhood of Messrs. Copestake, Moore, and Co.'s warehouse, in the Rue Notre Dame des Victoires, and feels it a duty to acknowledge that the English generosity has been evinced with a fulness that calls for the deepest gratitude from the inhabitants of Paris. The spectacle of the joy of the poor mothers cannot but be a sufficient reward to the great English city for its benefactions and its sympathy with the sufferings of Paris.

THE INNOCENT VICTIMS.—The greatest sufferers by the siege of Paris have been the young children. I went into a room full of babies (says a correspondent describing a visit to the foundling hospital), none of whom had been six months in the world, and found them in the arms of children under twelve years of age. There was not a wet-nurse in the place. A nice-looking woman, who had charge of the room, was the only grown-up person in it, in which there were upwards of fifty babies. The writer proceeds:—"It was the strangest sight to see these rows of little girls, each with a baby and a milk-bottle, each holding a wizened little scrap of mortality, swathed like a diminutive mummy, and apparently too weak to do more than occasionally give vent to a thin piping sound, that made one feel for the first time in one's life that a good healthy squall from any number of them would have been a grateful and cheering noise; but the next room we entered was far more painful than this. Here, seated in a large semi-circle round a mild and suffering-looking woman who was in charge, were a number of little children, from two to five years old, silent and motionless on their little stools, the picture of resignation and disease. One third had bandages round their eyes, from ophthalmia, and were sitting in darkness; others had their hands and feet bandaged up, and were covered with sores. Nearly all seemed suffering from inherited disease of a most horrible and revolting character, and, gazing at their shrunken frames, already so disfigured and destined to so much suffering, it seemed almost a cruelty to prolong their existence. Here, as in the room above, there seemed the same incapacity for crying,; the stillness among all these sick and suffering children told its own tale. And yet this was not a hospital; it was a place of deposit for new-born infants and healthy children, and this was their condition after five months' siege. The abandoned babies are distinguished from those which are deposited, by tickets pinned upon their breast. The mortality from the 1st of September to the 1st of January amounted to 960, as against 189 of the previous year. The total number of children deposited was 1,362, and of children abandoned, 2,071, making altogether nearly 3,500 children placed in the institution during the last four months of last year.

M. THIERS AT VERSAILLES.—At one o'clock two private carriages, closed, and drawn by two horses, were driven by men in plain clothes up the Avenue de Paris, and into the courtyard of the Prefecture. M. Thiers was in the first, and had with him a general officer. A gentleman in civil dress and a French officer were in the second. At the moment there were the two sentries on duty outside the *grille*, a couple of gendarmes walking up and down outside, and the two sentries stationed outside the portico at the steps to the hall door—no one else. An officer of the King's Household came down the steps to receive M. Thiers, who was dressed in black, and looked better, I think, than he did yesterday, or on the occasion of his previous visit. What France would have been spared in blood, treasure, and suffering had the first mission been guided by a truer appreciation of the state of her armies and of her means of resistance! An officer was also at the doorway, and M. Thiers and his companions were ushered into the Préfecture. By degrees it was known that the two carriages in the court were waiting to take the Chief of the Executive of France to the "Ombrages"; and first one officer passing by halted, and then another; next a group of soldiers was formed, and by-and-by a civilian or two appeared, till there was a small crowd of some twenty or thirty—principally Germans, grooms, servitors, &c,—who stood there quietly for half-an-hour, till the carriages drove round to the steps, and M. Thiers and his companions, one of whom I was told was General Chanzy, came out of the hall, and, attended by two officers, drove off down the Rue des Chantiers to the headquarters of the Prince Imperial. His Majesty has been for some days suffering from rheumatism, and cannot mount his horse, but his general health is excellent. He told the Duke of Manchester, who had the honour of dining at the Royal table on Tuesday, that he was nearly well again.—*Dr. Russell, Feb.* 22.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE GERMANS IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES.—The "Baltic question" is again coming up in the Prussian press. The Berlin papers state that the measures for the "Russification" of the Germans in the Baltic provinces of Russia are becoming more severe than ever, and are executed with great cruelty. At Riga, where the Russians form a small minority of the population, the Government has opened a seminary with the avowed object of spreading the Russian language and religion among the German inhabitants who are Protestants. A Russian General has been appointed director of this establishment, and delivered a speech at its opening, in which, according to the Prussian account, he declared that "no one can be a good Christian unless he either is, or intends to become, a Russian." He added that "Alexander I. freed Russia from the French, Alexander II. from the Poles, and Alexander III. will rid her of the Germans." The director of the German College in the same town has been ordered to introduce the Russian language into that establishment on pain of instant dismissal, and to write all his reports in Russian in future. The director objected that neither himself nor any of the professors of the college understood Russian, upon which the General rejoined: "They must learn it, then."

THE FATE OF GERMANY.—The question whether Prussia is to be absorbed into Germany or Germany is to be merely an aggrandised Prussia is now the subject of warm discussion in the Prussian press. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, which represents the Conservative party, or thick-and-thin supporters of the Government, adopts the latter view. "The Imperial crown," it says, "has been conquered by the sword of Prussia. We do not undervalue the participation of our allies; but it is a matter of history that this participation is a consequence of the Prussian victories of 1866—a truth which need not be concealed from our then adversaries, and which they themselves, much to their credit, acknowledged. Now, if a State is to be maintained by the same power which has created it, we conclude that it is Prussia's power which supports and maintains the German Empire. It is therefore all-important that Prussia should not be absorbed into Germany, and that its powers should be fully kept up. This is not narrow Prussianism; it is German, because Prussian, patriotism." And, in answer to those writers who advocate the adoption and extension of Liberal principles in order to complete the work of German unity, the same paper adds: "It is just the principles of 1789 against which we are now fighting so hard on the battle-field, and which we must continue to resist in the most determined manner in all directions—in Church and State, in our homes and in society."

THE DISTRESS IN AND AROUND PARIS.—Up to Monday evening the fund now being raised at the Mansion House for the relief of the distress in and around Paris and throughout the districts ravaged by the war, amounted to 112,000*l.*, of which upwards of 80,000*l.*, has been expended by the Lord Mayor's Committee in the purchase of provisions for gratuitous distribution in the capital. A grant of 10,000*l.* has in addition been made to the Peasant Farmers' Seed Fund, to be expended in seed corn, which it is necessary should be sown not later than a fortnight hence. Colonel Stuart Wortley and Mr. Moore are expected to return from Paris to-day, and they will be succeeded in their work of relief by an influential committee of their own appointment, headed by the Archbishop of Paris and Baron Alphonse de Rothschild. According to the communications of these gentlemen, the people of Paris were profoundly grateful for the assistance that had been rendered to them. Of this we have already given many other proofs. *Le Gaulois*, of February 20, contains details respecting the committee which (as already stated) has been formed to take up the work of dispensing English bounty on the return home of the delegates. In *Le Petit Journal* is an article expressing the gratitude of the French people for the gifts sent to them from England and other countries. The palm is given to the English, and to the city of London. The telegrams note that arrangements are in progress for re-establishing railway and telegraphic communications with Paris. One of the many proofs of the Parisians' appreciation of the noble efforts of the English to relieve their present distress has been the holding of a concert at the Grand Hotel in honour of the English delegates. It was (says the *Standard* correspondent) a great success. The song addressed to England, composed for the occasion, was admirably sung by M. David. I enclose the words:—

A L'ANGLETERRE.

COUPLETS ET CHŒUR.

Dédiés à l'Angleterre, et chantés en l'honneur des Délégués de Londres.

Quand le destin trahit nos armes,
Quand les revers fondent sur nous,
Gloire à ceux qui, dans les alarmes,
Nous ramènent des jours plus doux!
Béuissons la main tutélaire
Qui verse un baume à nos douleurs,
Généreuse et libre Angleterre,
A toi l'hommage de nos cœurs!
Albion, Gloire à toi!
Gloire à toi!

Tu pouvais, dédaignant nos peines,
Délaisser un peuple abattu,
Sourire à l'aspect de ses chaînes,
Et méconnaître sa vertu;
Mais en lui tu n'as vu qu'un frère
Resté plus grand dans ses malheurs,
Généreuse et libre Angleterre,
A toi l'hommage de nos cœurs!
Albion, Gloire à toi!
Gloire à toi!

Rien n'aurait brisé nos courages,
Mais nos foyers manquaient de pain;
Quand tu parus sur nos rivages,
Chassant le spectre de la faim;
Jour précurseur d'un temps prospère
Où les nations seront sœurs!
Généreuse et libre Angleterre,
A toi l'hommage de nos cœurs!
Albion, Gloire à toi!
Gloire à toi!

SYLVAIN ST. ETIENNE.

The *Lancet*, discussing the recent case of chloroforming a lady at Stamford-hill, reiterates the well-known opinion of the doctors that the time required for the administration of chloroform would usually prevent it from being employed by thieves or for bad purposes; and says it is far more likely that the lady in the case referred to had simply fainted from terror.

Literature.

*LORD BROUGHAM'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.**

The life of a man like Lord Brougham, with so versatile a genius and so chequered a career, who was so distinguished as a lawyer, a politician, and a man of letters, whose lot was cast in one of the most eventful portions of our modern political history, and who, in relation to the stirring events of the period, could truly say, "*Quorum pars magna fui*," must present innumerable points of interest, and its story, well told, ought to furnish a most instructive and valuable piece of biography. Considering over how lengthened a period his life extended, what different parts he played in the course of it, with how many important movements, both in and out of Parliament, he was identified, we need not perhaps grudge even three large volumes for it, though in this busy age, with its multiplicity of books, that is a very large allowance. The condition should be, however, that the work should be thoroughly well done, that all not absolutely necessary to the subject should be rigidly excluded, and that the patience necessary for the perusal of a work so voluminous should be rewarded by a complete and faithful picture of the man. We fear that these conditions are not likely to be fulfilled in the work of which the first volume is before us. In the first place, it is an autobiography, and, what is worse, an autobiography written at a late period of life. Incidentally we learn that it was written after 1850, so that Lord Brougham must already have been passed his threescore years and ten when he began to prepare these memoirs of himself. We have, therefore, not a record of his life as it was being spent, but his recollection of its incidents and his general view of it as it appeared to him in his old age. Of course it is full—could hardly fail to be full—of interesting matter, but in general we may say that the narrative is most full and ample just where we should have been content if it had been brief, and that it is brief just where we should wish for fuller detail. There is, as might be expected, in some parts the garrulity of the old man, as where he rambles on with his reminiscences of friends and kinsmen, in whom the public is very little, if at all, interested. He inserts, too, long accounts of his tours, which were more numerous and more venturous than was common in those days: visits to Denmark, Holland, and Italy, the account of which is interesting, but which certainly occupies too much space. Careful editing and wise abridgement, indeed, would greatly have improved the present volume, which does not bring us down to the commencement of the most important part of his lordship's life; but this was strictly forbidden by the terms of the will, in which his lordship requires that the "narrative is to be "printed exactly as I have written it."

We must take it, therefore, as it is, regretting that there was not the liberty of condensing it granted to an editor, but still feeling that it is an interesting record of a remarkable man, and not the less valuable, perhaps, because it bears upon it some of his characteristic faults. At the beginning we are struck by a very able example of the way in which the tradition of a great event may be preserved for an extraordinary length of time through one or two individuals. Lord Brougham was living only four years ago, yet he has conversed with a person who had conversed with an eye-witness of the execution of Charles I. "I have heard "(he says) my grandmother, being at the time "I refer to about ninety years of age, relate all "the circumstances of the execution of Charles "I., as they had been told her by an eye-witness "who stood opposite to Whitehall, and saw the "King upon the scaffold." These Broughams all appear to have been a long-lived race, for he adds—"My grandmother was born in Queen "Anne's reign, so that I have conversed "with a person who was alive a hundred "and eighty years ago, and who might "have heard her relative, Ann Brougham, who "lived to the age of a hundred and six, speak "of events that happened in Elizabeth's time." As Lord Brougham partook of the longevity of his female ancestry, the story of his youth takes us back to a period anterior to the beginning of the first French Revolution, but the personal reminiscences of the time are, as might be supposed, very scanty. A brief note of his mother's, in which she gives her recollections of the early days of her famous son, shows that his high qualities early began to develope themselves. "His grandmother, a very clever woman, was "an enthusiastic admirer of all intellectual "acquirements, and used to compare him to "the Admirable Chreighton, from his excelling "in everything he undertook." Quick observation, a retentive memory, great aptitude for learning, boundless power of talk, were characteristic of the child as afterwards of the man.

It would seem, too, that at a very early age he showed a taste for the profession in which he afterwards attained the highest honours, though there are those who say, though we believe with considerable exaggeration, that he never made any large or profound acquirements. "Really, in infancy" (says his mother), "I may "say, he showed this tendency; for he used to "get up a make-believe court of justice for the "trial of a supposed prisoner, he himself acting "as counsel, prosecuting the prisoner, examining "the witnesses, summing up the case, and "ending by passing sentence." Many boys have done the same thing who never became lawyers at all; and, even with Lord Brougham, it cannot be regarded as indicating any decided taste for the law, for few things are more noteworthy in this autobiography than the manner in which the future Lord High Chancellor writes of his own profession. So far from being enamoured of it, it seems to have been a bore and a burden to him; and, had another path presented itself, he would gladly have left it altogether. "I had an invincible repugnance "to the profession I had chosen, and constantly "wrote to Charles Stuart, then settled in "London, expressing my desire to escape from "it, and that, if any opening could have been "found for me in diplomacy, how gladly would "I have accepted it." It was in literary pursuits that, at this early period of his career, he found his principal pleasure, and to them, especially to his connection with the *Edinburgh Review*, that he owed his reputation.

The story of the birth of the *Edinburgh* has been told more than once, but Lord Brougham denies the correctness of some of the previous statements in reference to it, and in particular asserts that in two or three particulars Sydney Smith's version of the affair is wrong. Smith says that the scheme was started in Jeffrey's residence in "an eighth or ninth storey flat in "Buccleuch-place," and that he was appointed editor. Lord Brougham says that there was no house in the new town of Edinburgh at the time of more than three storeys high, and that though Smith looked over the articles in the first number, he was never regularly constituted editor, "for," with all his other rare and remarkable qualities, "there was not a man "among us less fitted for such a position. He "was a very moderate classic, he had not the "smallest knowledge of mathematics or of any "science. He could no more have edited, that "is, sat in judgment upon, Playfair's article on "'Marcherone's Geometry,' &c., than he could "have written the Principia." But on this theory an editor would really need to be a second Newton, or rather, perhaps, one who like his lordship himself should have science for his forte, and omniscience for his foible. Whatever may have been the idea of the editorial functions of a *Quarterly Review* in those times, we should fancy that it would hardly be thought necessary at the present time that an editor should be competent to pronounce on the exact value of all the scientific contributions to its pages, and would feel that on many subjects his reliance must be placed on the reputation of the writer rather than on any special knowledge of his own. To Smith, however, according even to the narrative given here, the real glory of starting the *Edinburgh*, and inaugurating a new era in periodical literature, clearly belongs. Jeffery was full of doubts and hesitations, and it was Smith who overcame his "inconceivable "timidity." So strong was this feeling on the part of the future editor that he "not only "retarded the publication of the first number "(which although projected in March, was not "published till October), but kept prophesying "failure in the most disheartening way, and "seemed only anxious to be freed from the "engagement he and the rest of us had entered "into with Constable to guarantee four num-"bers as an experiment." Brougham himself, after first consenting, drew back, though ultimately he was brought in, and became the most prolific writer for the early numbers. Smith was confident and sanguine from the first, and to his resolution was due the publication whose success from the first was so great that "Jeffery was utterly dumbfounded, and that "the young men who had commenced the un-"dertaking at once found themselves famous."

The present volume comes down to 1810, and its closing chapters deal with the opening part of Lord Brougham's political life, but we reserve the consideration of these till the appearance of the next volume, when we can treat the more active part of his political career as a whole. Meanwhile, we may say that if the volume hardly meets the anticipations that may have been formed of it, it contains a great deal of interesting matter, some of it new, and adds something to the knowledge of the last years of the past or the opening ones of the present century. The next volume, however, will necessarily be more exciting and attractive.

* *Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham.* Written by Himself. In three vols. Vol. I. (London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Son.)

BRIEF NOTICES.

The Animal World (Partridge and Co.) is a periodical which we have intended for some time past to introduce with a word of hearty commendation. But the issue of a complete volume reminds us that nearly eighteen months have passed since the first number was issued, and we may fairly presume that a great number of our readers, or at any rate of that portion of them who have lovers of domestic "pets" in their family circle, will know something about this newly established "advocate of humanity," as it is styled. Humanity here bears the sense of humaneness, an explanation it is all the more important to make since the religion of "humanity" has so many advocates nowadays, that the character of the publication might be entirely misunderstood from its title. When we say that it is published by Mr. Partridge for the "Society "for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," we have said almost all that needs to be said of its character and purpose. It is well written, contains interesting items, anecdotes, letters, &c., relating to animals and the manner in which they should be treated, and last though not least excellent engravings, large and small, of animals, mostly under good treatment, and therefore showing to the best advantage. We close the volume with a feeling of respect for the brute creation bordering upon reverence.

A number of small story-books for children, intended to inculcate some special virtue or to guard against a vice, come to us from Messrs. Oliphant and Co., of Edinburgh. *The Magic Spectacles*, by CHAUNCEY GILES, apparently an American reprint, is directed against indolence and want of perseverance.—*Martin the Weaver*, from the French of Mrs. CAMPBELL OVEREND, a story of well-sustained interest, shows, not with sufficient discrimination, however, the hardening influence of riches upon the heart.—*Aunt Mabel's Prayer*, by Mrs. HENDERSON, is not at all to our taste, and does not merit serious criticism.—A longer story, equally distasteful to us as to its theology, is *The Old and New Home*, a Canadian tale.—*The Stolen Child, and other Tales; The Easter Eggs, and Red and White Roses; The Young Artist*, and *The Pet Lamb*, have the appearance of being old friends with new faces. They are neatly bound and well printed, but there is nothing in them which specially recommends itself to us as suitable for children.—*The Exiles of France*, by A. HOPE MONCRIEFF, an historical story, is much better calculated to instruct and edify. It is a well-told story, full of points of interest.

Little Pussy Willow. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. (Sampson Low and Co. and Bell and Daldy.) Little girls and big girls ought to be the better for reading this story. It is the case of Nature *versus* Society put in the most irresistible manner. Little Pussy, a rosy-cheeked child of nature, who gets up at half-past five o'clock in the winter, and at four in the summer, to milk the cows, make the butter, and get the breakfast ready for the rest of the family, is brought into contrast with a delicate, spiritless, waistless girl of fashion, as girls of fashion are to be found now in New York. This young lady's doctor very sensibly refuses to make an apothecary's shop of her stomach, and sends her off to a farmhouse in the country as the only course likely to restore her to health of body and mind. So she comes into contact with little Pussy Willow, whose influence upon her is magical, for she returns home, and discards balls, operas, heated rooms, tight-lacing, and all the rest of it, and becomes a really "useful member of society."

Choice Poetry for Little Children. (Religious Tract Society.) The selections for this volume will be sure to please the little ones. Some are old favourites, as "The Fox and the Crow," "The Spider and the Fly"; others we have not seen before, but we can affirm that all are well adapted to young children, and inculcate some moral or religious lesson. The book has the additional recommendation of large type and well-executed coloured illustrations.

The *North British Review* has issued its last number.

Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, has a volume of sermons on "Modern Infidelity" in preparation for the press, which he will preach in Norwich Cathedral in the course of next month.

PROPOSED SUBSTITUTE FOR POSTAL CARDS.—The Society of Arts has issued a specimen envelope which it suggests as a substitute for the postal card. It is a small oblong sheet of thin paper, the top side being shaped off in the form of the usual envelope flaps. The inside of the sheet having been written on, the two sides are folded in, the bottom folded over them, and then the flap brought down and fixed in the usual way with moistened gum. The whole is very simple and light, weighing two grains less than the post card.

Foreign and Colonial.

GREECE.

Mr. Erskine has communicated to the Greek Government a despatch from Earl Granville, contending, it is said, that the inquiry relative to the Marathon massacre is insufficient, and demanding a fresh investigation, comprising also the officials who have already been acquitted by the previous judgment.

The Foreign Office has communicated to the newspapers the following information from Her Majesty's Minister at Athens, under date of the 11th inst.:—"The Greek Government have received intelligence of the destruction of one of the brigand bands in Acarnania, under the Chefs Kouremeno, Isimbouka, and Gabriel, the former having surrendered to the authorities, and the two latter, with two of their followers, having been killed; and that another brigand had been captured in the immediate vicinity of Venitza. The Greek troops are reported to have driven the bands of Kamara and Beloulia across the frontier, where the combined Turkish and Hellenic troops succeeded in killing seven of the brigands, of whose heads four were sent to Larissa, in Thessaly, and three to Lamia, in Greece."

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

It is proposed to expel the Jesuits from the whole of Italy.

A telegram from New York states that Mr. Sumner is convalescent.

The Duke of Montpensier is about to embark at Cadiz for England.

Indignation is manifesting itself in Belgium at the provocatory tone adopted by the Belgian bishops and clerical press against the Italian Government.

The Earl De Grey, and such of his colleagues as accompanied him, arrived at Washington on Thursday. On the previous day General Grant gave an audience to O'Donovan Rossa and nine other Fenian exiles.

A Ministerial decree, dated 23rd inst., has been published at Brussels, conferring on the Protestant and Jewish Churches in Belgium the advantages of civil corporations, of which they cannot at any time be deprived.

PRINCE CHARLES OF ROUMANIA is still resolved to abdicate at the proper moment, as there seems to be no likelihood of the more reasonable part of the population gaining the upper hand.

THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.—By advices from Madrid, dated Feb. 23, it appears that the illness of the Queen presented a serious character on Sunday and Monday week, but since then Her Majesty's state had considerably improved, and Her Majesty was becoming convalescent.

FATHER HYACINTHE.—Père Hyacinthe, whose real name is Loyson, has returned to Paris, where his mother and brother reside. He does not intend to leave the Roman Communion, but will not return to the monastery, and is not permitted to preach.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMISSION.'—A New York telegram says:—"Earl Kimberley's letter to the Governor-General of Canada, urging that the claims arising from the Fenian invasion should be brought before the High Joint Commission, is attracting much attention. Several journals state that the Administration of Washington will oppose such a consideration of the subject."

HIDEOUS CONVIVIALITY.—New York papers, describing an execution in Cumberland, Maryland, say that the sheriff and his assistants had a sumptuous supper with the condemned man the night before the execution, at which the latter sang a sentimental song. The convict, who was half drunk, was carried to the gallows in a procession headed by a band of music. On the scaffold he made a jocose dying speech, which the sheriff afterwards had printed and sold, stating that he intended to get back the money which his appointment had cost him.

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE POPE.

An occasional correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* gives the following account of a recent interview with the Pope. He says:—"It was now our turn to see the Pope, and each prepared, by attitude and position, to do him honour. Some knelt on both knees, some on one. We had been kneeling about three minutes when the Pope entered slowly, speaking, as he approached, to one of the younger cardinals, whom I at once recognised as Monsignore R——; all the other dignitaries clustering round him as the clouds gather round the setting sun, the purple and crimson tints of their long gowns and under-garments making the central light more vivid and impressive. Pius IX. wore a long robe of dazzling white, with a white tippet edged with gold. On his head was a white skull-cap, which crowned but did not conceal his silver hair; his feet were encased in a pair of scarlet slippers, with the cross embroidered thereon. The Pope's face was pale, but not thin or worn; his eyes were bright and searching; his cheeks warm—not red—with health; and his lips full, with a smile of *bonhomie* with benevolence upon them which would have won the heart of a child, and gained the sympathies of old and young—a smile which had nothing of the Jesuit in it, but was only such an old man's smile as we all love to see, and as a Persian poet declares to transcend the beauty of women. Thus attired, and thus attended by his courtiers, Pius IX. stood before us in the doorway, seeming, as the visitors looked up to him from their kneeling posture, even taller and more dignified than he appeared when first seen at the end of the gallery. He quickly approached the first person, an old gentleman in a wig, who kissed his hand, and then kissed his foot; but his eyes were fixed on a hunchback in the company, whose infirmity probably attracted him, and to him he addressed his first question and his first word of sympathy. After a short dialogue, the host, whose visitors we were, passed on to the next guest. This gentleman was a painter. The Pope spoke to him about works of art, repeated his name, which he had heard from the assistant-chamberlain, and told him how glad he always was to see men of talent about him. At this compliment the painter, who was young and handsome, bowed deeply, and kissed the hem of the Pope's robe, an act which struck me as at once dignified and artistic. The next visitor was a private gentleman, between forty and fifty. He spoke little, but that little was important. He asked the Pope's blessing. When he had received it, and had paid his devoirs in the humblest manner, Pius IX. passed on and came to the fifth visitor, who grovelled on the carpet as before, and kissed the red slipper without uttering a syllable. It was now my turn. The eyes of Pius IX. were fixed upon my face. 'English,' said the chamberlain, in answer to a look (the Pope's eyes are very expressive), 'and his name is ——. He, too, is an artist.' The Pope held out his hand to me, and asked me, in Italian, whether I was a painter or a sculptor. I replied, 'Neither, your Holiness'; and added—for I found I was contradicting the chamberlain—that I was not properly speaking an artist, but only a writer. 'There are artists in words as well as colours,' said Pius IX., when I had kissed his hand. 'Scott was a painter, and Byron a sculptor, but Shakespeare was both at once!' As all eyes, including those of the cardinals, were now fixed upon me, and as I felt my unworthiness to occupy any longer the public attention, I merely answered, 'Yes, your Holiness,' and remained kneeling. But the Pope had not quite done. 'Che gigante! che autore! Egli è il piu grande di tutti gli artisti!' 'Ah, that Shakespeare!' he exclaimed, with a thoughtful shake of his head. 'What a giant! What an author! He is the greatest of all the artists.' And, with a friendly smile, the whole of which I might fairly claim as mine, he passed slowly on, and thence through the line of cardinals out of the doorway."

Miscellaneous.

FATAL COLLIERY ACCIDENT.—A lamentable explosion of fire-damp is reported from South Wales. The scene of the disaster is the Pentre Colliery, Rhondda Valley. Thirty-eight men, including two volunteers who descended to explore the workings, have been killed.

THE TRADES UNION BILL.—At an adjourned meeting of the Conference of Amalgamated Trades on Saturday, the report of a sub-committee appointed to consider the provisions of the Trades Unions Bill was adopted. The principal recommendation was that the third or criminal clause be expunged, on the ground that it would be unjust and exceptional in its operation.

THE VACCINATION COMMITTEE.—This committee met on Thursday to appoint a chairman and consider the course of procedure. The deliberations were conducted with closed doors, but it was understood that the Right Hon. W. E. Forster had been elected to the chair, and that the committee had decided on hearing the evidence for and against vaccination, thus opening the whole question.

DEVON AND SOMERSET RAILWAY.—The prospectus of this new railway has already appeared in our advertising columns on two occasions. We call attention now to the subscription of 235,000*l.* stock in 2,350 certificates of 100*l.* each, which is now introduced by Messrs. Field, Wood, and Haynes, the solicitors. The price of subscription is 38*l.* per certificate of 100*l.* stock, yielding interest at 8 per cent. per annum, which is for five years to come secured by Consols.

A WHALE HUNT IN SHETLAND.—A shoal of finner or spotted caaing whales entered Bressay Sound a few days ago, on the cessation of the heavy storm which had raged for thirty hours previously. A great number of boats at once went out in pursuit, and after much manœuvring, succeeded in chasing the shoal into the Bight of Gremists, north of the town of Lerwick, where they were driven on shore and captured.—*Scotsman.*

POSTAGE OF NEWSPAPERS.—The Postmaster-General calls attention to the frequent practice of posting newspapers for abroad with the halfpenny stamp, and of book and sample packets over weight under the same stamp. This rate of postage is sufficient only for newspapers circulated in the United Kingdom, and for inland book and sample packets weighing not more than two ounces. A great many newspapers are also posted for foreign parts much beyond the prescribed limit of eight days from the date of publication.

A GRATIFYING TESTIMONIAL.—Mr. W. S. Darkin, formerly connected with the provincial press, has of late years occupied the position of Sub-Inspector of Factories at Belfast, where he has gained the esteem of all with whom he has been brought into contact. Being about to leave Belfast, on his appointment to the Wolverhampton district, the factory-owners at Belfast presented him with a silver salver, and a purse containing 540 sovereigns, as a substantial mark of their appreciation of the manner in which he has performed the difficult duties of his office. At the same time the factory-workers presented addresses to Mr. Darkin, expressive of their high estimation of his conduct, which must have been equally gratifying to the gentleman to whom it was presented.

THE DANGER OF LONG DRESSES IN THE STREET.—A frightful street accident occurred on Saturday to a lady on the Holborn Viaduct. The sufferer is a Miss Sarah Maray, aged 38, and she resided at No. 63, King-street, Soho-square. Her dress was very long, and it came over the kerb while she was walking on the pavement. The result was that the wheel of a wagon caught it, and the lady was drawn underneath the vehicle. Both her thighs were broken, and she was carried to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where she now lies in a dying state.

IMPORTANT RAILWAY ACCIDENT CASE.—A trial in the Court of Queen's Bench, which has extended over several days, in which damages were sought to be recovered for injuries received in the accident to a Leeds excursion train near Newark about thirteen months ago, was brought to a conclusion on Saturday. Amongst the issues raised was a somewhat unusual one. The action was brought against the Great Northern, but the train and carriage belonged to the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, and it was contended for the defendants that being obliged to pass over their line the trains of the other company they were not liable for any defects or *laches* of the latter. On this and all the other issues the jury found for the defendants.

REPUBLICAN DEMONSTRATION AT NOTTINGHAM.—We learn from Nottingham that a Republican demonstration was made in that town on Monday night. A procession having been formed, marched to the Great Market-place, accompanied by a band of music, and bearing banners with the inscriptions, "Less taxation, less starvation!" "A Republic—liberty, equality, fraternity." There a meeting was held, several thousand persons being present, but it was evident that sympathisers with the object of the demonstration were in a minority, and amongst them the rough element largely preponderated. A number of speeches were delivered, the various speakers being saluted with showers of pepper, flour, and rotten eggs.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—On Thursday night Mrs. Fawcett delivered a lecture on woman suffrage to a large audience in the schoolroom, Upper Grange-road, Bermondsey. Mrs. Fawcett was accompanied upon the platform by her husband, and Mr. George Odger occupied the chair. Mrs. Fawcett divided her lecture into three headings—the injustice of excluding women from the franchise, the evils resulting from that exclusion, and the objections used against women possessing the franchise. In the course of her lecture, Mrs. Fawcett spoke of the Married Women's Property Bill, which she declared to be one of the most absurd and illogical acts ever passed. As an illustration of this, she said that a married woman who was a sempstress might, under the act, purchase a sewing-machine out of her savings, and her husband could not touch it; but if any of her friends presented her with such a machine her husband could take it and sell it, and spend the proceeds upon himself. If women had possessed the suffrage, such an imperfect law would not have been passed. Mrs. Fawcett resumed her seat amid much cheering.

DEPUTATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT.—The Home Secretary received a deputation on Friday from the United Kingdom Alliance and various temperance societies, whose object was to urge the immediate introduction of the Licensing Bill. Mr. Bruce said the Government were earnestly desirous of passing the bill, and as a proof of that, they had put aside several other important social measures, but while he would be mortified and disappointed if he had not the opportunity of bringing in the bill soon enough to allow of its being fully discussed, he could not fix the day. In reply to a question, he said he would not discourage the introduction of a bill by the United Kingdom Alliance on the same day.—An influential deputation of members of Parliament and commercial gentlemen waited upon Mr. Monsell, the Postmaster-General, on the same day, to urge upon him the desirability of rescinding the pattern-post regulations recently introduced, and establishing a parcel-post similar to the book-post. Some other proposed postal reforms were also brought before Mr. Monsell's notice by the deputation. The Postmaster-General, in reply, said he hoped to be able to devise some plan with regard to the pattern-post which would be generally satisfactory.

A SUPPOSED CASE OF DOUBLE SUICIDE has occurred in Soho. The dead bodies of M. Longnon and his wife were found in their house, 27, Great Pulteney-street, and the surgeon who examined the bodies, and the inspector of police, give it as their opinion that the wife committed suicide by firing off a pistol into her mouth, and that her husband killed himself by shooting himself through the heart. It is supposed that the wife first killed herself, for immediately after a report of the firing of a pistol was heard a fall was heard in the back room of the first floor, and that was followed by another report and a fall in the front room. The deceased persons had lived in the house for about four years, and in the coat pocket of the man was found a letter written to his mother-in-law, asking her to take charge of his two children. It is now believed that M. Longnon first shot his wife and then himself. Loss of property in Paris by the war is alleged as a cause of the fatal acts. It is also said that M. Longnon had been deeply afflicted by the recent loss of a favourite child.

THE SMALLPOX AMONG THE POOR.—In a letter to the *Times*, Mr. Robert Brett, a surgeon at Stoke Newington-green, discloses a state of affairs as regards the victims of smallpox among the poor of which he charitably hopes the rich and prosperous have no conception. There is but one ray of light in the horrible story, and that is the account he gives of a small band of "Sisters" who devote themselves to the good work of nursing the sufferers. The first case is that of a respectable man employed as a boot finisher, who had four children taken ill with smallpox, and lost his work in consequence. Both himself and his wife were reduced to such a state of weakness that they became very ill. Two of the children died, and when the undertaker came to remove them the aspect of the living was so like that of the dead that he for the moment mistook one for the other, until the living children shrieked, "Oh, mother, don't let us go too!" Having no change of linen, and the mother being too ill to help them, they literally stuck to the sheet, until one of the good Sisters procured some clean garments and went daily to wash and clean them. Mr. Brett gives another case of three or four children, covered with smallpox, and glued to the bare boards on which they lay. The only ragged blanket in the house was wrapped round the father, who was suffering from rheumatism. They were utterly destitute of food, and no one but the Sisters would go near to help them. He tells another story of a poor man who died of smallpox. His wife, exhausted with watching and fatigue, let her baby fall from her arms. None of the neighbours except a fellow-lodger durst enter the room. This lodger sat by the bedside of the dying man when he became uncontrollable, and tied the infant to the mother's bosom that it should not fall again. The Sisters came to her help, and undertook the night-watching until the poor man died.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.—At the annual general meeting of the members of this corporation on Wednesday, Lord Belper, vice-president, in the chair, the following officers were re-elected for the ensuing year:—Mr. George Grote, president; Lord Belper, vice-president; Sir F. H. Goldsmid, Bart., M.P., treasurer; Dr. George Buchanan, Mr. Julian Goldsmid, M.P., Mr. John Hodgkin, and Mr. Chas. Z. Macaulay, members of the council: and the following gentlemen were elected:—Mr. Wm. Dougal Christie, Mr. T. S. Osler, and Mr. Richard Quain, F.R.S., as members of the council; and Mr. E. J. Nettlefold, as auditor. A large number of distinguished noblemen and gentlemen were, on the nomination of the council, admitted as life-governors of the college, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament passed in 1869, by which the college was re-incorporated with additional powers and privileges. The report of the council for the past year, which was read and received, showed that the college is in a highly satisfactory condition, and gave interesting information respecting the institution of the School of Fine Art, endowed in accordance with the directions of the will of the late Mr. Felix Slade which it is expected will be opened for students early next session; and also respecting the bequest to the College of an extensive and most valuable library of mathematical, astronomical, and physical works, collected by the late Mr. J. T. Graves, of Cheltenham, who was formerly Professor of Jurisprudence in the college, to which Mr. Graves, by his will, devised it.

A SHOCKING MURDER was committed in the streets of Leicester on Saturday night. A drunken butcher, named Jonathan Barrow, aged twenty-six, being jeered at by some boys as he was staggering along Clarence-street, pulled out a spring clasp dagger-knife, and attacked the first person he met in the street, a young man named Benford, whom he stabbed in the left breast. Barrow then went on stabbing right and left at everyone he met. A girl, named Elizabeth Wye, was wounded seriously in the back, George Glover was stabbed in the left arm, a man named Howes was stabbed in the back, and John Thomas Barnard received a severe cut in the left arm. Three police-officers at length secured Barrow, and wrenched the knife from him. Benford was removed to a surgeon's close by, where he died in about a quarter of an hour. The other persons injured were removed to their homes. Glover is in a precarious state, and the girl Wye is scarcely expected to recover. The prisoner has been committed on a charge of "Wilful Murder."

Gleanings.

A man said the only reason why his dwelling was not blown away in a recent storm, was because there was a *heavy mortgage* upon it.

The young hippopotamus in the Zoological Gardens died on Friday, evidently from exhaustion. It seemed to have neither power nor will to suck.

"Died partly from plethora of meetings." This is the verdict of an American paper upon a Congregational Union at Chicago, which came to an unhappy end.

A Melbourne (Victoria) correspondent writes:—"Christmas here is a time of flowers, dust, hot winds, poisonous drinks, and *delirium tremens*. I am glad it is over."

Some sinner has stolen the thermometer from the Fond du Lac *Reporter* office. That paper informs the thief that it will be of no use to him where he is going, as it does not work higher than 313.

The other day the front door of the New York *Tribune* office had to be closed for some purpose. So Mr. Greely wrote on a piece of paper, "Entrance on Spruce-street," and sent it down to the man who does the painting of the bulletins, to be copied. The man studied over Greely's horrible writing all the forenoon, and finally, in despair, wrote, "Editors on a spree," and posted it up.

A prudent man advised his drunken servant to put by his money for a rainy day. In a few weeks his master inquired how much he had saved. "Faith, none at all," said he; "it rained yesterday, and it all went."

The Mayor of Dartmouth has offered a reward to the first person who will give information as to the outbreak of any kind of infectious disorder in the borough. The object is to take early steps to prevent the spread of smallpox and fever.

TRICKS OF THE LONDON BEGGARS.—The latest trick of this fraternity is to run alongside gentlemen, claiming pity and succour on the ground of having just come out of a smallpox hospital. The trick succeeds: it is dangerous to have clothes contaminated by a person rubbing close and refusing to be sent away penniless, and a hastily-thrown copper is the quickest talisman for despatching an unpleasant supplicant.

AN IRISH ROGUE.—An Irishman walked into a grocer's store, and seeing the owner busy, seized a large cheese from a pile that was near him, and putting it on his head, asked the owner if he did not want to buy a cheese. "No," said the unconscious storekeeper. "Well," says Pat, "I must try somewhere else then," and marched off with the cheese on his head. The man discovered his loss in a few minutes, but Pat had escaped.

FATAL CURIOSITY.—There is a story told of the officers of a British ship dining with a mandarin at Canton. One of the guests wished a second helping of a savoury stew, which he thought was some sort of duck. Not knowing a word of Chinese, he held his plate to the host, saying, with smiling approval, "Quack, quack, quack!" Imagine how his countenance fell when the host, pointing to the dish, responded, "Bow, ow, ow!"

A MAN OF MANY RESOURCES.—In New York a witness thus describes his various occupations:—"Have been in the daguerreotype business one year; carried it on in Freeport, published a paper five months at Freeport; practised dentistry in 1849; practised it ten years altogether; was a drug clerk in Ohio; in 1869 worked on a farm; have been in the Government service since 1861; was a clerk in the Indian department in Washington city; sold patent rights in 1864; was in that business one year; was inspector of customs in New York city in November, 1864; held that office for ten years; then I came down to the hair-pin business; consider myself now an inventor."

A SERMON UNDER DIFFICULTIES.—An aged minister of the old school, Mr. Patrick Stewart, one Sunday took to the pulpit a sermon without observing that the first leaf or two were so worn and eaten away that he couldn't decipher or announce the text. He was not a man, however, to be embarrassed or taken aback by a matter of this sort but at once intimated the state of matters to the congregation:—"My brethren, I find that the mice have made free with the beginning of my sermon, so that I canot tell you whaur the text is; but we'll just begin whaur the mice have left aff, and we'll find out the text as we go along."—*The Dean of Edinburgh.*

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's *Gazette*.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, Feb. 22.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£36,101,000	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities ..	3,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	21,101,000
	£36,101,000		£36,101,000

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (inc. dead weight annuity)	£12,915,011
Rest	3,283,727		
Public Deposits....	8,577,521		
Other Deposits	19,741,451	Other Securities ..	20 261,146
Seven Day and other Bills	699,201	Notes	13,017,950
		Gold & Silver Coin	760,793
	£46,954,900		£46,954,900

Feb. 23, 1871. GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Harassing coughs are alike distressing to the patient and annoying to those around him. The mode of cure is simple, innocent, and effective. Holloway's Ointment should be thoroughly rubbed upon the front of the chest and between the bladebones twice a day, while the blood is undergoing purification by appropriate doses of his Pills. A double result is thus secured; the air tubes are relieved of accumulated phlegm, and the lungs are freed from an impure circulation. These favourable conditions remove the cause, and the cough ceases. By the same means, and with equal facility, the treatment by Holloway's inestimable remedies will overcome ulcerated and sore throats, diphtheria, bronchitis, pleurisy, and all asthmatical and pulmonary congestive complaints.

KINAHAN'S LL WHISKY.—This celebrated and most delicious old mellow spirit is the very cream of Irish Whiskies, in quality unrivalled, perfectly pure, and more wholesome than the finest Cognac Brandy. Note the words "Kinahan's LL Whisky" on seal, label, and cork. Wholesale Depot, 6A, Great Titchfield-street, Oxford street, W.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, Feb. 27.

We had small supplies of English and foreign wheat for to-day's market. The trade was steady, but only a limited business was transacted, and the sales of English wheat were at the prices of Monday last. Quotations for foreign wheat also remain without alteration. The flour trade was inactive, without change in values. Barley for malting purposes was dull; other descriptions were fully as dear. Peas, beans, and Indian corn maintained previous prices. Of oats we are without arrivals from abroad the last week, and, with renewed demand for export, prices have advanced fully 1s. since Monday last. At the ports of call further arrivals are reported. Prices of cargoes meet with inactive demand.

CURRENT PRICES.

	Per Qr. s.	s.		Per Qr. s.	s.
WHEAT—			PEAS—		
Essex and Kent, red	—	to —	Grey	37	to 42
Ditto new	50	56	Maple	43	46
White	—	—	White	36	40
,, new	55	58	Boilers	36	40
Foreign red	51	55	Foreign, boilers ..	37	38
,, white ..	54	57			
BARLEY—			RYE	36	38
English	31	34	OATS—		
Chevalier	35	41	English feed.. ..	23	25
Distilling	34	38	,, potato ..	29	35
Foreign	33	35	Scotch feed	—	—
MALT—			,, potato ..	—	—
Pale	—	—	Irish black	20	23
Chevalier	—	—	,, white	20	25
Brown	49	54	Foreign feed.. ..	22	25
BEANS—			FLOUR—		
Ticks	37	40	Town made .. .	47	50
Harrow	40	44	Best country brds.	39	42
Small	—	—	Norfolk & Suffolk	37	38
Egyptian	38	39			

BREAD, London, Saturday, Feb. 25.—The prices in the Metropolis are, for Wheaten Bread, per 4lbs. loaf 7½d. to 8d. Household Bread, 6½d. to 7d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, Feb. 27.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 4,477 head. In the corresponding week in 1870 we received 7,406; in 1869, 11,181; in 1868, 1,866; and in 1867, 11,286 head. Quietness has been the feature of the cattle trade to-day. The receipts of beasts have been moderate, but the quality has been indifferent. In all breeds the transactions have been restricted, at about late rates. The best Scots and crosses have been disposed of at 5s. 6d. to 5s. 8d. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,700 Scots and crosses, from other parts of England 300 various breeds; from Scotland, 142 Scots and crosses, and from Ireland about 100 oxen. The show of sheep has not been extensive, but some fair stock has been on sale. The trade has been quiet, on former terms. The best Downs and half-breds have changed hands at 5s. 10d. to 6s. per 8lbs. A few lambs have been on sale, and have sold at 7s. 6d. to 8s. per 8lbs. Calves have been in limited request, at about late rates. Pigs have changed hands at previous quotations.

Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inf. coarse beasts.	3	2	to 4	0	Prime Southdown	5	10	to 6	0
Second quality	4	2	4	6	Lambs . . .	0	0	0	0
Prime large oxen	5	0	5	4	Lge. coarse calves	3	8	4	4
Prime Scots, &c.	5	6	5	8	Prime small . .	5	0	6	0
Coarse inf. sheep	3	4	3	8	Large hogs . .	3	6	4	0
Second quality	4	2	4	6	Neat'n. porkers	4	6	5	2
Pr. coarse woolled	5	0	5	8					

Suckling calves, —s. to —s., and Quarter-old store pigs, 22s. to 25s. each.

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, Feb. 27.—Our market has been fairly supplied with meat. The trade has been quiet, at our quotations. The import into London last week consisted of 91 packages from Harlingen, 14 Gluckstadt, and 5 from Rotterdam.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior beef .	3	8	to 4	0	Prime ditto .	4	8	5	0
Middling ditto .	4	0	4	2	Veal. . . .	5	0	5	4
Prime large do. .	4	6	4	8	Large pork .	3	8	4	0
Do. small do. .	4	10	5	0	Small pork .	4	4	5	0
Inf. mutton . .	3	4	3	8	Lamb	6	8	7	4
Middling ditto .	4	0	4	4					

PROVISIONS, Monday, Feb. 27.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 7 firkins butter and 2,186 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 25,186 packages butter, 41 bales, and 120 boxes bacon. The French Government having permitted the export of butter, some Normandys arrived last week, and sold from 160s. to 140s. Dutch declined to 146s. to 144s., the quality being very indifferent. The bacon market further declines 1s. per cwt., and at the close of the week there was more business transacted, than last year; best Waterford, 63s. on board.

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, Saturday, Feb. 25.—We have to report a little improvement in the trade, both for our own market and the provincial ones; quotations are rather high for articles of good quality. Much inquiry is experienced for good Vegetables and fruit. Among the former we are now getting some excellent Broccoli from Cornwall. Good frame Potatoes are also to be had, at prices from 1s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per lb.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, Feb. 27.—The improved character of our trade noticed in our last report has been fully maintained by the transactions of the past week several of our large consumers having been on the market. All classes of hops have attention, and finer sorts are held firmly for higher figures. The advance in the foreign market, quoted in our last, is well maintained and a good demand exists, especially for the choicest grades. Latest advices from New York report a dull market. Mid and East Kents, 2l. 0s., 3l. 10s., to 7l. 0s.; Wealds, 2l. 0s., 2l. 16s., to 3l. 15s.; Sussex, 1l. 15s., 2l. 5s. to 3l. 10s.; Farnham and country, 3l. 15s., 4l. 15s., to 5l. 12s.; Olds, 1l. 0s., 1l. 15s., to 2l. 10s.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS.—Monday, Feb 27.—Full average supplies of potatoes have been on sale. The demand has been heavy, but prices have been maintained. Last week's import was confined to 8 baskets from Rotterdam. English Shaws, 80s. to 105s. per ton; English Regents, 70s. to 90s. per ton; Scotch Regents, 65s. to 95s. per ton; Rocks, 60s. to 75s. per ton.

SEED, Monday, Feb. 27.—There was a good demand for fine English cloverseed, at the extreme prices of last week, and buyers of American still continue to take off this description for France; fine qualities have commanded rather more money. White seed has sold at quite as high rates, the quantity offering being short. Trefoil brought full prices, with a steady demand. There was no change to quote in the value of either white or brown mustardseed. The sales effected of both were to a limited extent. Canaryseed and hempseed realised former rates. There was a good sale for foreign tares, at slightly higher prices.

OIL, Monday, Feb. 27.—Linseed oil has been firm. Rape has been quiet. The demand for other oils has been only to a moderate extent, at previous prices.

TALLOW, Monday, Feb. 27.—The market has been quiet. Y.C., spot, 44s. 6d. per cwt. Town tallow, 42s. 6d. net cash.

COAL, Monday, Feb. 27.—A general reduction in all coals at last day's rates. Elliot Wallsend, 16s.; Harton ditto, 15s. 3d.; Haswell ditto, 17s. 6d.; Hartlepool Original ditto, 17s 6d.; ditto ditto, 16s.; Kellse South ditto, 15s. 9d.; Tunstall ditto, 15s. 3d.; Eden Main, 15s. 6d.; Holywell Main, 16s; Hartleys, 15s. 6d.; Wylam West, 16s. 6d. Ships fresh arrived, 110; left from last day, 30; at sea, 45.

Advertisements.

THE ADVERTISER will be glad to exchange the "SPECTATOR" for the "NONCONFORMIST" on the THURSDAY after publication weekly.—Address A. B. Kingsbridge, Devon.

GOVERNESS PUPIL.—A YOUNG LADY from 14 to 18 years, can be RECEIVED into a FIRST-CLASS ESTABLISHMENT at greatly reduced terms, where she will enjoy every educational advantage combined with home comforts. Address, Mrs. Debenham, Ship-street, Brighton.

SITUATION WANTED, by a LADY, as HOUSEKEEPER in a respectable family, or as Companion to a Lady. Good references can be given.—Address, A. B. C., care of J. E Nihell, Printer, Frome, Somerset.

HOUSEKEEPER, Companion, or to Assist a Lady in the Care of her Family.—REQUIRED by a YOUNG LADY, domesticated and accustomed to children. Congregationalist. Highest references given. — Address, M. A. B., Railway-villa, Kettering.

TO IRONMONGERS, GENERAL and FURNISHING.—WANTED, to APPRENTICE a respectable, well-educated YOUTH, aged fifteen years, where he would be able to thoroughly learn the above business, and be treated as one of the family. A moderate premium given. —Address, W. R., 1, Church-road, Dartmouth-park, Forest-hill, London.

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.

The following RESOLUTIONS were passed at a large PUBLIC MEETING held in the TEMPERANCE HALL, LEICESTER, on Thursday Evening last, at which E. MIALL, Esq., M.P., and J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Esq., were present; the Rev. J. P. MURSELL in the Chair:—

1. "That this meeting regards with the highest satisfaction the general prevalence of the opinion that, in the interests of justice and religion, as well as for the sake of the Established Churches, it is desirable that the State should cease to afford support to, or regulate the affairs of, religious communities. That, believing that this state of public feeling is largely due to the labours and the fidelity of Edward Miall, Esq., it has special pleasure in learning that he will shortly urge upon the House of Commons the application of the principles of disestablishment adopted by the Irish Church Act of 1869 to the other Established Churches of the kingdom."

2. "That a copy of the resolution just now adopted be sent to the members for the borough, with the earnest hope that Mr. Miall's motion will receive their hearty support and votes in the House of Commons."

3. "That the most cordial thanks of this meeting are hereby presented to Edward Miall, Esq., M.P., and to J. Carvell Williams, Esq., for their presence and eloquent addresses on the present occasion."

EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.—SPECIAL APPEAL.—The war having cut off the resources of the Evangelical Societies on the Continent, the Committee appeal very earnestly for special contributions to enable them to maintain the Evangelists, and to RELIEVE the DISTRESS of the SUFFERERS.

J. CROSSLEY, Treasurer.
J. SHEDLOCK, Secretary.

7, Blomfield-street, E.C.

CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWISHAM, for the EDUCATION of the SONS of MINISTERS.

The MEMORIAL STONE of the NEW WING of this School will be laid on TUESDAY, March 7, at Four p.m., by Rev. JOSIAH VINEY, of Highgate, assisted by various Ministers and other gentlemen.

In the evening a PUBLIC MEETING will be held in the Schoolroom, chair to be taken at 6.30 by Dr. LOCKHART.

The Revs. Joseph Brayley, T. M. Jones, George Martin, I. V. Mummery, W. Tyler, and J. H. Wilson, with Messrs. Hitchen, Jeula, Scrutton, and others, have engaged to take part in the services.

Tea will be provided for friends from a distance at Five p.m.

CAMBRIDGE EXAMINATION FOR WOMEN.—LONDON CENTRE.

The NEXT EXAMINATION will be held on JULY 3rd 1871. Candidates must give notice of their wish to enter by March 15. Information as to Preparatory Classes, &c., will be given by the

Hon. Sec., Miss E. BONHAM CARTER.

Ravensbourne, Beckenham.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

Mr. COOKE BAINES, Surveyor and Valuer, begs to INFORM his Friends that he has REMOVED from 106, Cheapside, to No. 26, FINSBURY-PLACE, MOORGATE-STREET, E.C., where all future communications are requested to be addressed.

January, 1871.

THE LONDON AND GENERAL PERMANENT LAND, BUILDING, AND INVESTMENT SOCIETY.

Shares, £40. Monthly Subscription, 5s. Entrance Fee, 1s. per Share.

337, STRAND, W.C.

TRUSTEES.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Lichfield
Thomas Hughes, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
The Hon. H. F. Cowper, M.P.

CHAIRMAN OF DIRECTORS.

Thomas Hughes, Esq., Q.C., M.P.

Large or small sums received on deposit, repayable at short notice. Five per Cent. Interest Guaranteed. Shares may be taken at any time—no back payments.

Money ready to be advanced on Freehold or Leasehold Security.

The Last Annual Report states that 7½ PER CENT. PROFIT has been again apportioned to Shareholders, besides carrying a large addition to the Reserve Fund.

W. R. SELWAY, Managing Director.

MR. STREETER (Successor to HANCOCK and CO., Limited), GOLDSMITH and JEWELLER, WATCH and CLOCK-MAKER TO the ROYAL FAMILY, 37, CONDUIT-STREET, BOND-STREET, LONDON, W., INTRODUCER of the CELEBRATED 18-CARAT GOLD JEWELLERY, also WATCHES and CLOCKS, MACHINE-MADE.

BRACELETS, STRAP, 18-CARAT	£5	0
BRACELETS, ETRUSCAN, „	£7	0
BRACELETS, NINEVEH, „	£10	0
BRACELETS, SAXON, „	£15	0
BROOCHES, ETRUSCAN, „	£2	10
BROOCHES, NINEVEH, „	£3	0
BROOCHES, SAXON, „	£4	0
BROOCHES, EGYPTIAN, „	£5	0
CHAINS, PRINCESS, „	£2	0
CHAINS, CYLINDER, „	£3	0
CHAINS, CURB, „	£4	0
CHAINS, CABLE, „	£5	0
EARRINGS, ETRUSCAN, „	£1	10
EARRINGS, SAXON, „	£2	5
EARRINGS, EGYPTIAN, „	£3	5
EARRINGS, NINEVEH, „	£4	10
LOCKETS, ENGRAVED, „	£1	0
LOCKETS, CORDED, „	£2	10
LOCKETS, CROSS, „	£4	0
GOLD WATCHES, LADIES',	£8	8
GOLD WATCHES, „	£10	10
GOLD WATCHES, ¾-PLATE,	£15	15
GOLD WATCHES (HUNTING),	£11	11
GOLD WATCHES, ¾-PLATE,	£16	16
GOLD WATCHES, „	£20	0
GOLD WATCHES, KEYLESS	£15	10
GOLD WATCHES, „	£22	0
GOLD WATCHES (HUNTING),	£18	18
CLOCKS, CARRIAGE,	£5	0
CLOCKS, „ (STRIKING),	£7	7
CLOCKS, „ „ (ON GONG),	£12	12
CLOCKS, LIBRARY (MARBLE),	£4	0
CLOCKS, „ „	£10	12
CLOCKS, „ „	£14	0
CLOCKS, „ (ORMOLU),	£10	0
CLOCKS, „ „	£15	0

THE ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE, BOUND in CLOTH, POST FREE for TWO STAMPS, only of MR. STREETER, 37, CONDUIT-STREET, 5 DOORS from BOND-STREET, LONDON, SUCCESSOR to HANCOCK & COMPY., LIMITED

NEW CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

Cambridge, though a University town of thirty thousand inhabitants, has but one Congregational place of worship, and this a small, unsightly structure, erected eighty years ago, now hidden away in a back lane, and without schoolrooms, classrooms, or accommodation for week-day services.

Within the last fifty years the Episcopalians have built four, and other denominations seven, additional places of worship; and there is urgent need for a new Congregational church.

To this end about five thousand pounds has been already subscribed, which would have been sufficient for the requirements of the present congregation, had not the Committee expended two thousand eight hundred pounds of this sum to secure a site in the principal street of the town. This they did, at the request of several influential friends and subscribers, the better to meet the wants of the increasing number of sons of Dissenting families which even the prospect of an early abolition of Tests attracts to the University.

To erect on this new site a commodious edifice, and one in keeping with its surroundments, a further sum of four thousand pounds is required.

For this amount the Committee appeal to the whole Congregational body.

Their project has assumed dimensions necessitating such a public appeal, just because they have had regard to interests wider than their own. A Congregational church at Cambridge must be representative, and ought to be attractive to the Nonconformist students in the University.

On these grounds the Committee confidently solicit, for an undertaking whose claims all Nonconformists will recognise, such generous support as will ensure its realisation.

SUBSCRIPTIONS will be received by—

Messrs. FOSTER, Bankers,
Rev. JAMES WARD, B.A., 5, Downing-terrace,
Mr. WILLIAM BOND, Brookside,
(Treasurer.)
} Cambridge.

The following sums have been already promised:—

Sir Francis Crossley, Bart., M.P.	£200	0	0
And the offer of a Loan of £800 without interest, to be returned to the English Chapel Building Society within 10 years.			
English Chapel Building Society	500	0	0
Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P.	500	0	0
J. Remington Mills, Esq.	250	0	0
Titus Salt, Esq.	250	0	0
John Crossley, Esq., Halifax	200	0	0
William Armitage, Esq., Manchester ..	100	0	0
John Finch, Esq., Tunbridge Wells ..	100	0	0
Richard Johnson, Esq., Manchester ..	100	0	0
Charles Jupe, Esq., Mere	100	0	0
Trustees of Coward Fund	100	0	0
Samuel Watts, Esq., Manchester	100	0	0
Sir James Watts, ditto	100	0	0
Joshua Wilson, Esq., Tunbridge Wells ..	100	0	0
A Friend, per Rev. A. Norris	50	0	0
George Hadfield, Esq., M.P.	50	0	0
Abraham Haworth, Esq., Manchester ..	50	0	0
T. W. Hope, Esq., Liverpool	50	0	0
Thomas Hunter, Esq., Manchester ..	50	0	0
Henry Lee, Esq., ditto	50	0	0
Thomas Roberts, Esq., ditto	50	0	0
William Somerville, Esq., Bristol	50	0	0
Jesse Haworth, Esq., Manchester	25	0	0
J. Rigby, Esq., ditto	25	0	0
Joseph Thompson, Esq., ditto	25	0	0
W. Woodward, Esq., ditto	25	0	0
Hugh Mason, Esq., Ashton	21	0	0
S. Derham, Esq., Bristol	20	0	0
William Crosfield, Esq., Liverpool	20	0	0
W. E. Melland, Esq., Manchester	20	0	0
Charles Reed, Esq., M.P.	15	0	0
E. Baines, Esq., M.P.	10	0	0
J. O. Jones, Esq., Liverpool	10	0	0
S. Rymer, Esq., Manchester	10	0	0
H. O. Wills, Esq., Bristol	10	0	0
Per G. C. Whiteley, Esq., B.A.	10	10	0
G. F. Whiteley, Esq., Richmond	5	5	0
W. H. Wharton, Esq., London	5	5	0
J. C. Needham, Esq., Manchester	5	0	0
Rev. W. C. Stallybrass, Brixton	5	0	0
E. Spencer, Esq., Manchester	5	0	0
Other subscriptions	10	8	0
Subscribed by the Congregation and Friends at Cambridge	1946	0	0

It is hoped that, by the help of friends in the town and neighbourhood this sum will be increased to £2,500.

ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE for INFANTS, HORNSEY RISE, near HIGHGATE, N

The FIRST PUBLIC FESTIVAL, on WEDNESDAY, March 8th, 1871, CITY TERMINUS HOTEL, CANNON-STREET.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P., will preside,

Names of Stewards will greatly oblige. Stewards are only responsible for the expense of their Dinner Ticket.

JOSEPH SOUL, Hon. Secretary.

Tickets for Gentlemen, 21s.; for Ladies, 12s. 6d., are now ready, and may be obtained at the Office of the Charity, 73, Cheapside.

CENTRAL NONCONFORMIST COMMITTEE, 86, NEW STREET, BIRMINGHAM.

"PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS for the FORMATION OF SCHOOL BOARDS."

Also, just published, price 2d.,

THE SPEECH of MR. R. W. DALE, M.A., at the BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL, on the "Proposed Payment of the School Fees of Children attending Denominational Schools."

May be had from the Publishers, Messrs. Hudson and Son, Birmingham; or from the Secretary, at the Offices of the Committee.

PATRONISED by the CROWN PRINCESS of PRUSSIA, the SULTAN of TURKEY, and the NAWAB NAZIM of BENGAL.

SEWING MACHINES OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

Wheeler and Wilson.	Shakespear, lock-stitch.
Grover and Baker.	Agenoria.
Howe, Elias (jun.).	Cleopatra.
Weed.	Tom Hood.
Willcox and Gibbs.	Weir.
Excelsior.	Wanzer.
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Belgravia	Octagon.
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Selecting from all the best makers, and selling at the manufacturers' prices, SMITH and CO. offer this GUARANTEE to their customers. Any machine sold by them may be EXCHANGED after one month's trial, for any other kind, without charge for use.

SMITH and CO., 4, Charles-street, Soho, W.

(Four doors from Oxford-street.)

SUBSCRIPTION FOR £235,000 STOCK,

in 2,350 Certificates of £100 stock each Certificate, of the

DEVON AND SOMERSET RAILWAY,

Which, by Agreement confirmed by Act of Parliament, is to be worked in PERPETUITY by the

BRISTOL AND EXETER RAILWAY.

PRICE OF SUBSCRIPTION,

£38 per CERTIFICATE of £100 STOCK, yielding £8 per Cent. per Annum interest for five years at the price of Subscription, such interest being secured by investment in CONSOLS in the name of

JAMES GOODSON, Esq., J.P., 32, Kensington Gardens Square, London, and

JOHN FIELD, Esq., (Messrs. Field, Wood and Haynes), 9, Warnford Court, Throgmorton Street, London,

who have consented to act as Trustees for the holders of the above Stock, and to apply the same in the payment half-yearly of such Interest as it falls due.

Messrs. FIELD, WOOD and HAYNES are authorised by the Contractor to receive applications for £235,000 (part of £260,700) Ordinary Stock of the DEVON and SOMERSET RAILWAY, in 2,350 Certificates of £100 Stock each Certificate.

The price of the Stock now offered is £38 for each Certificate of £100 Stock, payable as follows:—

£8	on each Certificate applied for,	payable	on	Application.
10	,,	,,	,,	Allotment.
10	,,	,,	,,	1st May, 1871.
10	,,	,,	,,	1st July, 1871.
£38				

To ensure the investor an adequate return on his capital during a period amply sufficient for the full development of the traffic of the Railway, 3 per cent. per annum on the Stock—equal to £8 per cent. per annum on the amount invested—is guaranteed for five years, from 31st January last, to 31st of January, 1876.

In pursuance of the above, the necessary amount will be invested in Consols in the names of the above-mentioned Trustees, and the Interest will be payable half-yearly on 31st July, and 31st January in each year, at the NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK of ENGLAND, London. The first half-yearly payment will be made on 31st July next.

The option is given of paying the whole of the Instalments on allotment, in which case discount will be allowed in addition at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum on such prepayment.

Reckoning the accrued Interest and the discount for prepayment, the net cost of each Certificate of £100 Stock is reduced to £37 10s.

Provisional Certificates of payment will be issued, to be substituted, when fully paid up, for the Stock Certificates of the Company, the Stock being then transferred into the name of each applicant free of Stamp Duty and all expenses.

The Capital of the Company consists of—

	£
6 per cent. A Debenture Stock	270,000
5 per cent. B Debenture Stock	166,000
5 per cent. Prefererce Shares	12,000
Ordinary Stock,—the Stock now offered for Subscription being part thereof— ..	260,700
	£708,700

The Agreement with the Bristol and Exeter Railway, the Acts of Parliament, and the Company's scheme of arrangement, may be seen at the Offices of the Solicitors of the Devon and Somerset Railway Company.

In the allotment of the Shares the following will be specially considered:—

Applicants who desire to pay up the Shares in full on allotment under discount for investment, and

Applicants who are holders of other Stocks in the Devon and Somerset Railway.

Applications, accompanied by the payment of £8 per Certificate, will be received on the enclosed form, which must be filled up and forwarded to The NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK of ENGLAND, 112, Bishopsgate-street Within, London, or its Branches; or to Messrs FIELD, WOOD and HAYNES, 9, Warnford-court, Throgmorton-street, E.C., to whom applications for Prospectuses should be made.

9, Warnford-court, Throgmorton-street,
London, 24th February, 1871.

The Directors and Officers of the Devon and Somerset Railway are:

DIRECTORS.

The Right Hon. Lord Poltimore, Poltimore-park, near Exeter, Devon, Chairman.

John Arthur Locke, Esq., North Moor House, Dulverton, Somerset, Deputy-Chairman.

Sir William G. Throckmorton, Bart., Buckland, Farringdon, Berks.

Charles Frederick Clements, Esq., 8, Porchester Square, London.

Henry Gorges Moysey, Esq., Bathealton-court, Wellington, Somerset.

John Thomas Nash, Esq., South Molton, Devon.

Engineer.—Richard Hassard, Esq., M.I.C.E., 1, Westminster Chambers, Victoria-street, S.W.

Solicitors.—Messrs. Combe and Wainwright, 9, Staple Inn, London; Messrs. Ricard and Son, South Molton, Devon.

Auditors.—James Jerwood, Esq., Recorder of Taunton; S. F. Porter, Esq., London.

Bankers.—The National Provincial Bank of England, 112, Bishopsgate-street Within, London, E.C., and its Branches.

Secretary.—R. M. Muggeridge, Esq.

Offices:—13, Little Queen-street, Westminster, London, and Taunton, Somerset.

Messrs. Field, Wood and Haynes, in bringing this Stock before the public, call their attention to the following facts:—

The Devon and Somerset Railway, 42 miles in length (shown on the map, coloured red), commences at Norton, near Taunton, Somerset, forming a junction with the Bristol and Exeter Railway there, and terminates at Barnstaple, Devon, crossing by a direct route from east to west, Milverton, Wiveliscombe, Brampton, Dulverton, North and South Molton, Swinbridge and Landkey, saving nearly 40 miles on the existing route from the West of England to Bristol and the North, and bringing the entire district traversed within much easier reach of the Metropolis.

The Devon and Somerset Railway possesses peculiar advantages as regards traffic, as from the great saving of distance, it will not only command a remunerative Passenger and Goods traffic, but, in addition, an important coal and mineral traffic from the surrounding districts which the Railway will open up, there being to the northward of this line, and between it and the Bristol Channel, upwards of 400 square miles of rich mineral and agricultural country, unprovided with railway accommodation, and to the southward, upwards of 200 miles, more than half of which is similarly unprovided.

The present route from the north, north-east, and east to Barnstaple and the West of England is (as a glance at the map will show) round via Taunton, by Exeter, a very circuitous route.

When the Devon and Somerset Railway is open, a saving of nearly 40 miles in distance, and consequently economy of time and expense, will be effected by all traffic between the Metropolis and places north of it and the large district which will be served by the Devon and Somerset Railway, such traffic then proceeding by the Great Western and Bristol and Exeter Railways, to Taunton, and thence by the Devon and Somerset Railway direct. Passengers and Goods being booked through by these Companies.

By special agreement, confirmed by Act of Parliament, the Bristol and Exeter Railway Company are to work the Devon and Somerset Railway in perpetuity, and pay over to it half-yearly 50 per cent. of the gross receipts.

Arrangements have been made by which the Midland Railway Company is under agreement to allow the Devon and Somerset Railway 10 per cent. rebate on the traffic passing over their Line, and the Bristol and Exeter Company have agreed to allow a similar rebate of 5 per cent. on their Line.

There will also, it may be confidently expected, be found a special element of great future advantage in the facility it will offer for summer and excursion traffic to the beautiful and favourite scenery of North Devon and Cornwall. The attractions of this district bring numbers of tourists, which are rapidly increasing every year, to the West of England; and the Devon and Somerset Railway will offer to the whole of the manufacturing districts of England the readiest and far the shortest route, traversing as it does some of the most picturesque parts of North Devon.

The traffic of the Devon and Somerset Railway, there is no doubt, must be large, regard being had to the important towns it unites, and to the rich agricultural and mineral district it will accommodate, as well as the saving of distance from the Metropolis and the North of England; and already application has been made to the Contractor to construct a Mineral Tramway to bring the minerals from the mines immediately about to be opened on to the Line of railway of this Company.

Towards the construction of the 42 miles of which the Devon and Somerset Railway consists, great progress has been made, a staff of 1,100 men being now engaged upon the works. The extremely inclement season has unavoidably delayed the opening of the first section of the Line—viz., from Taunton to Wiveliscombe (10 miles), but it is now completed, and the Engineer of the Company reports that official notice is about to be given to the Board of Trade to inspect the same preparatory to its official opening. The remaining sections are well in hand, and all the rails and fastenings necessary for the completion of the Line have been delivered on the works; and the Contractor confidently anticipates that the entire Line will be completed before the close of the current year.

Pending the completion of the Line and the development of the traffic, to ensure the punctual payment of 3 per cent. per annum on the Stock—equal to 8 per cent per annum on the price of Subscription—for a period of 5 years, viz., from the 31st January last to 31st January, 1876, an amount sufficient for the purpose will be invested in Consols in the names of James Goodson, Esq., J.P., 32, Kensington-gardens-square, London, and John Field, Esq. (Messrs. Field, Wood, and Haynes), 9, Warnford-court, Throgmorton-street, London, who have consented to act as Trustees, and who will apply such amount thereof as may be necessary to ensure the full and punctual payment half-yearly of such Interest as it falls due.

The Devon and Somerset Railway will compare favourably as to cheapness of construction with the railways in its immediate vicinity, and will, therefore, need considerably less traffic per mile to obtain proportionate results.

With reference to the estimate of the probable traffic, it may be observed that the North Devon Line, running from Exeter to Barnstaple, has a traffic of £22 per mile per week; the South Devon Line, from Exeter to Plymouth, for the year 1870, earned £43 per mile per week; and the Bristol and Exeter, £19 per mile per week, together averaging about £41 per mile per week.

A net weekly receipt of about £16 per mile per week (including the rebates on traffic passing over the Midland and Bristol and Exeter Lines) will, after making provision for the payment of the Interest on the Debenture and Preference charges, yield a dividend of 3 per cent. on the Stock now to be issued (equal to 8 per cent. on its Subscription price); and, looking to the steady yearly increase of the traffic returns of the United Kingdom, and to the long period allowed for the development of the Line by the guarantee before mentioned, there can be no reasonable doubt that this minimum result may fairly be looked for before the expiration of the 5 years' guarantee.

Considering the price of the Stock now offered in relation to the prices of other Railway Securities of equal promise, it is believed that it possesses every element of a desirable present investment, as well as of a prospective increase in the value of the capital invested.

London, 24th February, 1871.

SUBSCRIPTION for £235,000 STOCK, in

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Name (in full).....
Address.....
Profession (if any) .....
Date.....1871.
Signature.....

(Addition to be Signed by Applicant desiring to Pay up all the Instalments on Allotment under Discount.)

I desire to pay up my Subscription in full, on allotment, receiving discount for prepayment of the Instalments, and entitling me to a preferential allotment.

Signature.....

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SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
NONCONFORMIST.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1871. [GRATIS.

PROFESSOR SEELEY
ON THE
PREVENTION OF WAR.

A numerous gathering of the friends and supporters of the Peace Society assembled by invitation from Mr. Richard, M.P., the Secretary of the Society, at the Friends' Meeting House, on Tuesday (yesterday) evening, to hear a lecture from Professor Seeley, on the Possible Means of Preventing War in Europe.

The chair was taken at seven o'clock by Mr. Joseph Whitwell Pease, M.P.

The CHAIRMAN said that Europe had recently witnessed the sad spectacle of two of the most powerful Christian nations destroying one another. Whether the spectacle was regarded by them as Christians or moralists, or as mere political economists, it was one which must excite the deepest feelings in every good man's heart. Professor Seeley had been asked to state his views on the cure for such a state of things, and he (the chairman) would at once call upon him to deliver his promised address.

Professor SEELEY then rose and said: Ladies and gentlemen, members of the Peace Society, but for the request which you made me, I should not have undertaken to treat this subject. I do not profess to be able to treat it with the fulness and the precision it requires; but I cannot refuse to communicate such views as I have, at a time when every hint may be valuable, when a society such as this, prepared and specially organised to avail itself of every hint, has asked for my advice. That war ought, if possible, to be abolished, you are convinced already, and as I am convinced of it too, we may take this point for granted. But I should like very briefly to answer one or two arguments by which many people persuade themselves that war, if not a good thing, is yet a thing which has so much good in it that, considering the immense difficulty of abolishing it, it may, on the whole, be allowed to continue; or else that war is so deeply rooted in human nature, and so closely entangled with what is best in human nature, that the abolition of it would involve the re-making of man, possibly upon a less noble type. It is very common, then, in the first place, to hear people say that war is but a natural expression of malignant passions, and therefore, that you cannot abolish it, except by eradicating those passions first. We must begin, people say, at the root.

> This huckster put down war! Can he tell
> Whether war be a cause or consequence?
> Put down the passions that make earth hell.
> Down with ambition, avarice, pride,
> Jealousy down. Cut off from the mind
> The bitter springs of anger and of fear.
> Down, too, down at your own fireside,
> With the evil tongue and the evil ear:
> For both are at war with mankind.

The poetry is good, but I cannot admit the reasoning. Is it impossible, then, to check or prevent bad actions except by eradicating the bad passions from which they spring? If so, civil society itself is based upon a mistake, for civil society has for its principal object the prevention of private war, and it does not proceed by this method. If war between individuals, between townships, between counties, can be prevented without eradicating the passions from which it springs, why not in nations? Yet war between individuals has been abolished, nay, it is easy to point out instances in which war has been permanently abolished between particular nations. England and Scotland fought like cat and dog for centuries, and now they were bound together in an indissoluble concord. Here is a great political achievement, here we have a triumph, that kind of sequel which contrives the happiness of societies. And by what means was this secular feud healed? was it by first eradicating out of the minds of Englishmen and Scotchmen their mutual dislike? No but political and material union came first, the sense of a common interest created with common government, and a common government by creating the habit of social intercourse gradually obliterated hostile feelings, the mutual hatred was eradicated out of the heart of the two nations. But this instead of being preliminary condition of union was the last result of it. When we hear it said that Frenchmen and Englishmen, or Frenchmen and Germans, will not for hundreds of years lose their antipathies sufficiently to be united, let us remember the case of England and Scotland, and reply, "Yes, but they may be united sufficiently to lose their antipathies." (Applause.) Another argument is that war, with all its horrors, has something grandly beneficent about it; it is not the mere medley of destruction and misery it may appear at first sight; it is not a mere appeal to physical force, on the contrary a diviner justice constantly guides the issues of war; the weaker side being right is found unexpectedly triumphant, the arrogant and oppressive power collapses suddenly in the moment of triumph; great antagonisms in human affairs are cut through by the sword of war: international disputes that have lasted for ages are decided once for all, and, on the whole, justly. These appearances of Providence, acting on a vast scale, are so elevating and awe-inspiring that we cannot help thinking the world would be a less sacred place and human life meaner if it were to cease. No more Marathons; no more Morgartens! No more plays like the Persæ, no more hymns like Isaiah's triumph over Sennacherib! would not poetry and prophecy lose their highest theme, and mere comfort and vulgar prosperity reign, where great conflicts of good and evil had reigned and great Divine doom been pronounced. It would be unjust to confound this theory with the mediæval theory which lay at the basis of the wager by battle if it is worth while to remember that our ancestors thought a providential justice revealed itself in the conflicts of individuals as well as of nations, and yet that the wager of battle fell ultimately out of use and no one at the present day wishes to revive it. Yet, I suppose, even that theory of our ancestors was not purely superstitious. The ordeal by battle was not simply an appeal to physical force. The consciousness of being wrong did often make one combatant weak, and consciousness of being right make the other strong. Now and then, it is likely, there occurred some case like that of Scott's Bois-Guilbert, when the spectators unanimously acknowledged with awe the judgment of God. Only, if in such decisions there might be some justice, on the other hand there was not nearly enough of it. The feeling of a good cause went some way, but physical skill, agility, accident might decide the contest also. In the meanwhile, was it not open to adopt another course by which the cause should be decided on its merits alone? In the ordeal of battle justice could be only an ingredient in the legal investigation. There might, if sufficient pains were taken, be perfect and unmixed justice. No doubt, in a contest between nations moral forces operate far more powerfully than any contest between individuals. What makes a nation successful in war is self-devotion and capacity of discipline, quite as much as numbers, or wealth, or military science. Now, self-devotion and the capacity of discipline are almost identical with virtue, so that in war it may be most truly said that virtue is power. Moreover, the justice of a cause will attract the sympathy of other States, while the unjust cause will alienate them. Again, the just cause will give to a nation unanimity while the war lasts. But the nation that is fighting for the wrong will be apt to grow discontented with the burdens of war, to paralyse its Government by dissatisfaction and disunion. If then, we may hold that the old trial by battle was, not quite simply the appeal to physical force, it is certain that in the case of nations it is still further from being so; and all that poets and prophets have said in the old time about the Divine justice revealing itself in the decisions of war may very well be true. If there were no other way of deciding international disputes, we should find consolation in this. It would be pleasant to think that in the midst of carnage and desolation, virtue is still every now and then signally vindicated; that even were men abandon themselves to destructive passions, they cannot escape from those laws which are a curb upon destructive passions, that the spirit of order, constructiveness, and harmony, rules marvellously over the very chaos of the storm. This is just one of those contrasts that the poetic imagination takes hold of: the dark cloud threatening to overwhelm, then, while waiting with consternation, the soft rainbow suddenly and noiselessly girding it. But if those ancient prophets who spoke of the Lord of Hosts had lived in our day, I think they would have spoken a very different language. It is in comparison with no justice at all that the justice of war is admirable. Compared with any properly organised legal system, it is surely deplorable. As in the other case, if there is some justice in war there is not anything like enough of it. A proper legal decision is not one in which justice enters, but one in which nothing but justice enters. And unless we suppose in material affairs not merely a Providence, but such a special Providence as we consider it superstitious to suppose in the case of individuals, it is impossible to consider the justice of war as answering that decision. The virtue of a nation is one among its munitions of war. True, but only one among many. Moreover, it is distinct from the justice of the particular cause for which a nation fights. War is a judge who does not look very closely into evidence, but decides according to liberal testimonies of character. For instance, it may be argued that the defeat of the French in the present war is due to their demoralisation, and to the corruption which an immoral Government had introduced into their military organisation. But all these causes of defeat would have operated equally had their cause against Germany been just, and they would to all appearance have been equally unsuccessful. Now, suppose war, instead of merely having the element of justice in it, arrived at the just decision as securely as a judge and jury, would it be defensible? You, I believe, say it is not defensible in any case. I should say that if there were no other way of obtaining international justice, it might be defensible. I think you must yourselves admit that, whether it be defensible or not, war will not be abolished until some other method of settling quarrels has been introduced. You cannot think when you look at the state of Europe that your cause is making much way. Half a century ago it might have been thought that war was merely the guilty game of kings and aristocracies, and that the introduction of popular government would make it obsolete. But I think we have seen enough to convince us that peoples can quarrel as well as kings; that scarcely can the causes of war which operated in monarchical Europe cease to operate in the popular Europe of the future; and that the wars of peoples will be far more gigantic, more wasteful of blood and suffering, than ever were the wars of kings. Is it not, then, time to relinquish a course of argument which has been found hitherto convincing to so few, particularly if another course of argument be open to you, which all alike are prepared to listen to. So long as you say that war is not defensible in any case, that nations must be prepared to take wrong rather than have recourse to it, you may know by long experience that you preach to deaf ears. But every one has a sufficiently strong sense of the horrors of war to listen eagerly if you suggest a practical way of settling international quarrels peaceably. If it once became clear to a large number of people that there is a satisfac-

tory alternative to war, they would instantly begin to look upon war as you do, that is, as the most enormous and intolerable of evils. If people knew clearly what to put in its place, be sure you would not need any longer to complain of their indifference or coldness to the cause. Whether rightly or wrongly, most people think the tribunal of war, with all its faults, better than no tribunal at all. You will say, No one proposes to abolish war without substituting anything for it; as a matter of course, arbitration must be substituted for it. The mistake of all peace advocates I have met with is that they do not enter into details on the subject of this arbitration in such a way as to convince people that it is feasible. To establish a system of international arbitration is surely not so very simple a thing, it strikes most people as a mere chimera. The common impression about it, utterly mistaken, I believe, is that such plans suppose human nature to be far more virtuous than they, it is that it will be time enough to take it into consideration when men have been softened by five centuries more of civilisation. So long as people think this, and as you do not force them to think otherwise, they will never take seriously into consideration any scheme to abolish war; because they are not prepared to abolish war without an equivalent. You propose no equivalent that they could regard as practicable. But this indifference people show is not to be mistaken, as so many peace advocates mistake it, for an insensibility to the evils which war produces. The proper cure for it is not invectives against war, or Erckman-Chatrain's novels, admirable as they are. The proper cure is a feasible and statesman-like scheme of arbitration, such a scheme as should take account of details and provide contrivances to meet practical difficulties. If the Peace Society had such a scheme matured, and practical statesmen ready to defend it and push it, I believe the peace question would instantly pass into a new phase. It would no longer be, as it is now to most people, a question of quarrels settled by war, or quarrels not settled at all, the wild justice of revenge, or no justice at all wild or civilised. It would then become a question of trial by battle, or trial by law, a question to which only one answer can be returned. If it were once shown to be possible to decide international disputes by law, what argument would remain for war? and who would be so insane as to utter a word in excuse of it? You will see all the indifference you complain of pass away in the twinkling of an eye. You would find no more occasion for declamation on the horrors of war, for computing the number of lives lost, the number of orphans made, the number of pipes of blood shed, the ruin of property, the retarding of progress, the prolonging of political servitude, and all the other consequences of this great plague of society. You would soon discover that the apathy you attribute to callousness was merely due to hopelessness; that it was dissipated like a mist at the first gleam of rational hope. Instead of meeting with no response, you would soon be astonished at the depth and unanimity of sympathy you would excite. You would find that if the work you had undertaken be greater than was ever undertaken before, there was at hand to help you a power far greater than ever politician wielded. If an opinion rising in the people, and slowly gathering strength under the influence of rational argument from practical men, was able to force the emancipation of the negro, and free trade from cold and reluctant legislatures, be sure that the agitation then roused was an unformidable and almost imperceptible movement compared with that which would convulse Europe, and overawe governments, and make light of all the world-old traditions of military monarchies, if once men caught sight of the truth that war is not merely a terrible thing, or a wasteful thing, or an uncivilised thing—all this they have long known—but that it is an unnecessary and abolishable thing. The war giant, whom now we keep as we keep the hangman, and regard as a detestable but necessary drudge, with what triumphant joy would the liberated populace turn on him. He would be "slain in puny battle, by wives with spits, and boys with stones." The object of this lecture, then, is to offer some suggestions to those who may wish to find out in what way a system of international arbitration can practically be realised. It will be seen that the introduction of such a system involves a number of vast political changes. This, of course, will be no news to you, accustomed as you are to hear your scheme called Utopian. But I shall venture to assert that the scheme; vast as it is, does not really deserve to be called Utopian, because a Utopian scheme is not merely a vast one, but one which proposes an end disproportionate to the means at command, whilst the means available here, the forces, the influences, that may be called in for the accomplishment of this work are as enormous as the difficulty of the work itself. I shall endeavour to establish the following propositions: First, that the international system wanted is something essentially different from, and cannot be developed out of, the already existing system by which European affairs are settled in congresses of the great powers. Secondly, the system wanted necessarily involves a federation of all the powers that are to reap the benefits of it. Thirdly, in order to be really vigorous and effectual such a system absolutely requires a federation of a closer kind—that is, a federation not after the model of the late German Bund, but after the model of the United States, a federation with a complete apparatus of powers, legislative, executive and judicial, and raised above all dependence upon state governments. Fourthly, the indispensable condition of success in such a system is that the power in levying troops be assigned to the federation only, be absolutely denied to the individual states. I do not think it can be necessary to be very minute or prolix in explaining that the present system of congresses is not at all the thing we are in search of. That system is useful for a particular purpose; but our purpose is altogether different. We want something in the nature of a law court for international differences. Now, a European Congress has nothing of the nature of a law court; and when people call it an Areopagus, or apply to it other epithets proper to judicial assemblies, they are surely guilty of an inadvertence which needs only to be very briefly indicated. A law court may of course have many defects, and yet not cease to be a law court; but the defect of European Congresses is not an incidental and venial, but a radical, and therefore fatal defect. What should we think of a judicial bench, every member of which was closely connected by interest with the litigants, and on which in the most important cases the litigants themselves invariably sat? There are cases where the European Congress has worn perhaps some superficial appearance of impartiality. When the kingdom of Belgium was constituted it might be represented that the King of the Netherlands was convened before a European court, and judgment given against him in the name of the general sense of justice. Who does not know, however, how utterly untrue this description would be? Who does not know that the principal agents in the settlement were thinking of quite other things than the general sense of justice; that a diplomatic contest was waged between England and France, and that the question was not even of the interests, much less of the rights of the parties before the court, but of reconciling the interests of the two judges on the bench in such a way as to hinder them from fighting? The judges, in short, so far from being, as judges should be, personally indifferent to the issue of the process, felt the keenest possible interest in it, and never concealed that they did so. The settlement then made was an adjustment of forces, not of rights. It has proved a most important and beneficial settlement, but it does not at all the more on that account deserve to be called judicial. But it is not principally for such cases that an international court is wanted. The world is in danger, not so much from petty differences between the Dutch and the Belgians, as from prodigious outbreaks of national jealousy between France and Germany, England and Russia. Now, in these most important cases the European Congress ceases to wear even the superficial appearance of a law court that it has in the less important ones. That the judges should be avowedly partial is quite enough to strip them of all judicial character; but when the litigants are among the great European powers, they are judges in their own cause. Surely I need not say a word more on this head. (Cheers.) In short, an Ambassador cannot possibly be at the same time a judge, and a Congress of Plenipotentiaries cannot possibly be a law court. There ought to be no representation of interests on a judicial bench. You have a good court, not where both parties are represented, but where neither are. (Cheers.) We are so accustomed to see law courts which are admirably efficient for private litigation, that it does not at first strike us as a difficult thing to create a satisfactory court of international litigation. We think nothing but the will is wanting. Several new courts have been constituted in our own time in England; they have worked well enough: what difficulty can there be in constituting one more? A very obvious difficulty. To establish a court within a state is one thing, and how to do it has long been well understood; but it is quite another thing, and a thing which has never been satisfactorily accomplished, to constitute a court outside the range of any political organisation. It must be evident, as soon as it is stated, that the judicial system of a state is closely connected with its other institutions; that it grows with the growth of the whole, and it is modified in its development. Can we imagine the law courts at Westminster existing in an isolated condition severed from their vital connection with the other organs of the State? Yet this is analogous to what is proposed when an International Court is recommended. Because law courts thrive under the shelter of the State it is proposed to set up a law court, as it were, in the open air, a law court unconnected with any executive and with any legislative power. I do not assert that such a court can never be established simply because there has not yet been any example of it, but I point out that no presumption of its success can be drawn from the success of existing courts, since those courts have succeeded under widely different conditions. Because apples are easily and abundantly produced upon trees, you cannot presume, at least, you cannot count confidently, upon producing them without trees. (Laughter.) But now I go further, and point out that the law-court is not only historically found invariably within the State, but also that it takes all its character and efficiency from the State. Judges cannot constitute themselves, nor can they regulate for themselves all the details of their procedure. And again, judges cease to be judges and become something essentially different if their decisions are not enforced. A judge is not simply a person who pleases himself with weighing evidence and pronouncing decisions; he is a person who has been invested with his office by a power recognised to be competent to confer office, and he is also a person whose decisions are regularly enforced by a power recognised to be competent to enforce them. A judge, therefore, or a bench of judges, cannot exist in isolation, but stands necessarily connected with other powers, a nominating power, a regulating power, and an enforcing power. But where all these powers meet, a power of nominating officers, a regulating or legislative power, a judicial power, and a power of executing sentences, there you have a complete organisation of a State; and thus it is matter of demonstration that a state is implied in a law court, and as a necessary consequence that an international law court implies an international state. Perhaps it will be answered, "A state, if you like to call it so, or something almost equivalent to a state, will no doubt be required; but there will be no occasion for anything half so cumbrous or elaborate as the organisation of a state generally is: some federal apparatus must be arranged to regulate and sustain the international court, but the machinery requisite will be of the slightest and most inexpensive kind." Is this so certain? But even if it be certain, still we have a problem of federation before us, and not merely of constituting a law court. The nations of Europe must constitute themselves into some sort of federation, or the international court can never come into existence. A judicial assembly is inconceivable without a legislative assembly of some kind, however limited in competence, however rarely summoned, which is inconceivable without officers of some kind executing its sentences. When once we understand that the question is the forming a confederation of the States of Europe, we naturally refer to the various experiments in federation that history commemorates. What we want to discover is the slightest bond of federation that will be effectual. For it is evident that the closer the federal bond the more complicated will be the organisation required, and the greater the sacrifice demanded of each individual State. Federation, but the slightest possible federation, will be our maxim. The work will be difficult enough in any case; let us reduce it to the lowest amount. Now, history will suggest to us—and this is the most important thing I have to say to you—that we must abandon this plan, which it is so natural to conceive, of a slight, but effectual, federation. As we are driven by the very conditions of the problem to the notion of a federation, we shall find ourselves driven by history to the notion of a close federation as the only one which can possibly be effectual. Federation appears in history as a problem often undertaken, but seldom successfully solved. We cannot pick from history a number of different types of federation, all equally satisfactory, and each suited to some particular exigency; on the contrary, what we find is one or two federations which have been successful, and several which have failed helplessly and ignominiously. This may show us that to say that the establishment of an international court involves federation, is to say that it involves the solving of one of the most difficult of problems, and that so far from making light of the federal apparatus required as something easily arranged, we ought to bestow the most careful attention upon it as being the part of our task which is most delicate, and in which failure is most to be feared. I need not go back for instances of unsuccessful federation to the helpless Amphictyonic League of Greece, which afforded the most convenient weapon for the ambition of Philip, nor even to the Holy Roman Empire which was baffled and mocked by Frederick of Prussia. I shall refer to two more modern instances, the German Bund which fell to pieces in 1866, and the old American Confederation, which gave way in 1789 to the American Union. Here you have two federations, both of which failed because they were not close enough. The American Confederation ought to be particularly instructive to us because the causes of its failure were so clearly seen at the time, that it was found possible to replace it by an amended institution which has verified the calculations of its authors, by displaying itself to mankind as the one pre eminently successful federation of history. The German Bund is instructive in another way as having embraced some of the very nations for whom our proposed federation is intended. Most of the schemes of international arbitration which I have heard broached since the calamities of the last half-year have forced the subject upon our attention, were realised, it seems to me, in the German Bund, and stand condemned in the history of its inefficiency and its fall. As these two examples show us what to avoid in federation, the American Union shows us what to imitate. When I call this the successful federation *par excellence*, I do not mean to commit myself to a general eulogy of American institutions. The Americans are a nation absorbed in production, a nation therefore, among whom the higher culture has had to contend with great difficulties; their political life is dragged down by miscellaneous swarm of emigrants, to whom they give power too easily and too soon. Their system may fail in a hundred points, but this does not prevent it from being gloriously successful as a federation. They have found a higher political unit for mankind; they have found a name greater than that of state; they have created a virtue beyond patriotism. That union of nations which here is a wish, a Utopia, a religion, has advanced a great step towards practical reality on the other side of the Atlantic. There you have already seen what seems so chimerical here—States subsisting side by side as amicably as departments or counties; to protect frontiers like those of France no more need for a Metz or Strasbourg than on the boundary of Middlesex and Hertfordshire; and in the budget of States as large as England no grant for a war establishment. (Applause.) No doubt their circumstances were far

more fortunate than ours in Europe; but what they accomplished was an unprecedented thing, while Europe has now the advantage of America's example. But it will be said, "If you would abolish war, look anywhere but in that direction. The United States have not long emerged from one of the most gigantic wars in history." True, their peace was interrupted, but they have recovered it, veritable American peace, a peace unknown in Europe, a peace without war establishments. And if their war was gigantic it must not be confounded with the wars of Europe. No, remember that it was a war against war. (Hear, hear.) It was a war for the principle of Union, a war against the principle of division, no more like the wars of Europe than the violence used by a policeman is like criminal violence, or the homicide of the executioner is like murder. (Hear, hear.) Had the Secessionists had their will, two standing armies, or, perhaps, more, would probably at this moment be confronting each other in America, and the miserable ruinous system of Europe would be in full operation there. But, because the Americans went through one gigantic war they were able to disarm at the end of it, and may cherish a reasonable hope of never being obliged—at least within the Union—to wage war again. Well did President Lincoln say that he fought to preserve the Union and not to abolish slavery. The preservation of the Union was by much the more important object, for it was the greatest step mankind had yet taken towards the abolition of war. In spite of their one internal war there, I say the American Union may be said to have solved the problem of the abolition of war, and we may see there the model which Europe, far superior to America in perfection of culture and in literary and artistic wealth, should imitate in her international relations. Now, this great triumph of the Union was achieved on the very ground upon which an earlier Confederation had conspicuously failed in the same undertaking. The two Federations may be compared; somewhere among their differences evidently lies the secret of success. Now, they differ mainly in the degree of force and independence given to the Federal organisation. When the Federal organisation was lax and was decisively disentangled from the State organisation the Federation failed; it succeeded when the Federal bond was strengthened. The special lesson which is taught by the experience of the Americans is that the decrees of the Federation must not be handed over for execution to the officials of the separate States, but that the Federation must be an independent and separate executive through which its authority must be brought to bear directly upon individuals. The individual must be distinctly conscious of his obligations to the Federation and to his membership in it. All Federations are mockeries that are mere understandings between governments. I infer that we shall never abolish war in Europe unless we can make up our minds to take up a completely new citizenship. We must cease to be mere Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and must begin to take as much pride in calling ourselves Europeans. Europe must have a constitution as well as the States that compose it: There must be a European legislature and executive as strong and as important as those that meet and act at Washington. Nor will all this succeed unless the discrepancies of language, race, culture, and religion can be so far overcome, that by slow degrees the members of the new State may come to value their new citizenship as much and at last more than their old, so that when any great trial comes when State membership draw one way and federal membership another, they may as the Americans did in their trial prefer the Union to the State. I infer at the same time that all schemes will fail which propose to unite Europe merely by adding together the States that compose it. The individual and not merely the State must then enter into a distinct relation to Federation. In the Federal legislature of Europe, as in the American Congress, there must be representation by population as well as representation by States. But still more necessary is it that the federation should have an executive force greater than that of any of its component states. I am at a loss to understand what people mean who would establish an international court without giving it sufficient power to enforce its decrees, or even without the right of enforcing its decrees. Good advice! Is it by good advice that you think to put down war? If so, remember that you enter a path upon which you have no precedents and no analogies to guide you. If war had never been abolished in any case up to this time, I should not think it worth while speculate upon the means of abolishing it. But I see that it has been abolished over and over again; that private war has been abolished, that small states constantly at war with each other have become provinces of large ones, and so have lost the right of making war; that England and Scotland, after centuries of war, have attained to a perpetual peace in relation to each other; lastly, that across the Atlantic a number of large States have succeeded, apparently for good, in destroying the possibility of war between each other. In all these cases the same result has been attained in the same way. And it has not been attained by good advice. Do not say, 'This is a cynical view; human nature is better than you think; people would often take good advice if it is honestly offered." When people's minds are calm, I think they are generally very ready to take advice; but when a man's passions are roused, or personal interests threatened, and still more so when this happens to be a nation, I do not think, I know, that good advice is thrown away. How can we talk of the efficacy of good advice when we know that six months ago France impatiently refused it, and that Germany refuses it as impatiently now? And what is the use of quoting cases where good advice has averted war, so long as a number of cases can be quoted where it has not? Mankind will be glad to hear how war may be abolished, and made obsolete, but you will scarcely get them to take a warm interest in schemes by which it may, perhaps, sometimes be avoided. There has been found, hitherto, but one substitute for war. It has succeeded over and over again. It succeeds regularly in the long run wherever it can be introduced. This is, to take the disputed question out of the hands of the disputants, to refer it to a third party, whose intelligence, impartiality, and diligence have been secured, and to impose his decision upon the parties with overwhelming force. (Applause.) The last step in this process is just as essential as the earlier ones, if you omit it you may as well omit them too. This is the lesson we may learn from the fall of the German Bund. To expect that military powers like Prussia and Austria should be coerced by the Bund, was to put the nurse under the orders of the babe on her lap. Accordingly the Bund existed just so long as Prussia and Austria shrank from a decided quarrel, and fell to pieces the moment the emergency arrived which it existed to meet. For precluding war it is not sufficient that the power and justice should be a little greater than the power of the disputing parties. Justice must be so overwhelmingly superior that resistance may be out of the question. Therefore it was found impossible to tolerate the armies or retainers the feudal lords of the middle ages kept on foot. Now, how to make the federal force of Europe superior to the force of any one State, say France or Prussia. The history of the last two centuries shows that the combined force of all the European States is not always clearly superior to the force of one. Louis XIV. and Napoleon were humbled with the greatest possible difficulty, and we begin to doubt at the present day whether Europe could effectively resist united Germany, if Germany should enter upon a path of ambition. It is evident that the course of international justice can never be irresistible so long as States have standing armies. The right of levying troops must belong to the federation, and it must be denied to the State. (Applause.) The State is the feudal lord of modern Europe; the reign of anarchy will never be brought to a close until the State is forbidden to keep armed retainers. I am fortunate in having an audience that is bound to listen to speculations which, perhaps, most English audiences would find insufferably fanciful,—Europe constituted into a single State, with a federal executive and legislature located in one central Washington! Famous States like England and France forbidden to levy soldiers, and slowly shrinking into counties beside the Federation, which steadily grows in majesty, and constantly absorbs by its gravitation the genius and ambition that were attached before to the different national Governments! Such a revolution in human affairs, I am perfectly aware, has scarcely ever been witnessed. But it has not been my purpose hitherto to discuss whether these changes are practicable or impracticable; I am addressing those who have decided for themselves that war both must and can be abolished. Whether you are right or not in thinking so is a separate question. What I have attempted to show is that the abolition of war absolutely requires and involves certain vast political changes in Europe, and that it is only possible if they are possible. If I have thought it worth while to go into some detail about these changes, it is not in order that we may instantly set about the work, but that we may count the cost of it; it is that both you who are members of the Peace Society and we who are not may have some just measure of the work which is either to be undertaken or to be abandoned in despair. Nevertheless, it will be worth while, in conclusion, briefly to review the difficulties of the task on the one side, and on the other the forces, instruments, and appliances which a party undertaking it would command. First, then, it is to be noted that if the Americans have achieved what is here proposed for Europe, they did so in circumstances infinitely more favourable. In fact, it may be said that the federation was given to them by Providence, and that their achievement consisted in preventing it from falling to pieces. The problem proposed to them was, not to bring together different nations that had before been separate and mutually hostile, but to arrest a tendency to separation and dissolution which was beginning to show itself in a population homogeneous and united by language, institutions, and religion. If it is a masterpiece to have solved even this problem, what would it be to yoke together indissolubly so many rival races and rival States and rival religions, the Englishman and Frenchman, the German and the Slave, the German and Italian? What would it be to find a federal name which should fall like a covering upon so many secular discords, and hide at once so many inveterate wounds? to reconcile in one act all the most rooted antipathies; to unite in common political action and subjects, of a Czar, of a Kaiser, of a Constitutional Queen, and of a Swiss Republic; to accustom to familiar intercourse those whom difference of speech has so long made barbarians to each other? Nations that were united have before now been sundered by differences of religion; it has been hard to hold together nations that were in different stages of development; bitter jealousies have sprung out of different economical conditions; rival languages have caused the greatest embarrassments to Governments; and the Federation of Europe is a work which must be accomplished, and when accomplished maintained, in spite not of one of these obstacles, but of all of them together. Besides this intrinsic difficulty, the mere magnitude of the undertaking is an important consideration. How vast an enterprise merely to persuade so many populations of the desirableness of federation!—to create in each European State a Federal party large enough to procure a hearing for the scheme, large enough in process of time to enlist the nation in its cause, large enough in the end to impose the measure upon Governments that would in many cases be, from instinctive interest, bitterly hostile to it! But in fact, it is hardly worth while to insist upon difficulties which no one can overlook. The difficulties we all of us see only too clearly, or rather too exclusively. The question rather is, why should they not at once be voted insurmountable? In the first place, then, there is no question of realising such a scheme at once or soon. If only it be true that the scheme would be infinitely beneficial to an infinite number of people, it may be assumed that the lapse of time will remove most of the difficulties that are caused by the mere multitude and inertia or indifference of those who are to be convinced. It is but to spread a new conviction over Europe. Such a thing has been done more than once before, and that when circumstances seemed even less favourable. New religious convictions passed with inconceivable rapidity over Europe in the 16th century; popular principles of government have spread over the greater part of Europe since 1789; who does not believe that federation too will have its day? Who doubts that this idea will some time or other come home to every heart, and be universally accepted—*sic volvere Parcas?* And if so, it depends surely in a great degree upon human zeal and energy how near that time is. It may be a long voyage that has to be made, but it is a voyage with wind and tide, the steady wind and irresistible tide of manifest destiny. In the next place, it is a mere misconception to judge of the possibility of a work merely by considering the weight to be moved; what has to be considered is the proportion between the weight and the power. If a vast work is an impossible work, then the federation of Europe is, of course, impossible, and so were the cutting of the Suez Canal and the laying down of the Atlantic Cable. But if vast works may be reasonably expected from vast powers, then those who have vast powers at command may attempt schemes more astonishing than that of Columbus, without a particle of that visionary and romantic enthusiasm which in Columbus was only justified by success. The projectors of the Atlantic Cable never, as far as I remember, endangered their characters for discretion and sober-mindedness. Such a scheme as the federation of Europe might perhaps be worth a little of the enthusiasm that refuses to see difficulties, and will see nothing but the infinite desirableness of the end to be attained. Such enthusiasm it would no doubt have required in past times; but are not the conditions changed? When we suffer ourselves to be overwhelmed by the magnitude of the weight to be moved, do we sufficiently consider the leverage that is at hand to move it? As I have explained that the federation wanted is not merely an arrangement between Governments, but a real union of peoples, so I think it can never be attained by mere diplomatic methods, or by the mere action of Governments, but only by a universal popular movement. Now, a hundred years ago such a popular movement, extending over Europe, was barely conceivable, but in the present day nothing is more easy to conceive. Such popular movements are just what the age understands. Scarcely any country in Europe but has been, some time in this century, the scene of some great agitation, where some political reform, that was afterwards carried out by statesmen, was preached by great popular orators, and welcomed by the multitude. Over almost all the space between the scenes of O'Connell's and Kossuth's triumphs, popular agitation has been abroad, and as people have learned the art of expressing their wishes, and in many countries also of expressing them with moderation, they have learnt how to agitate for definite changes, and to do so successfully, even when the changes they called for required in the execution machinery quite beyond the comprehension of most of the agitators. What is required, therefore, is not anything new in kind; it is but a movement such as every population in Europe has had experience of; a movement new only in being extensive beyond precedent, in including many nations at once, and therefore in demanding more careful guidance; and for an unprecedented movement you can surely furnish unprecedented motives. The evil you attack is no doubtful one, no partial one, no small one. It is the greatest evil of evils that we can conceive to be remedied; it attacks all classes of society and all ages; it attacks them with no insidious weapons and under no disguise, but with open massacre, starvation, and ruin. It calls the more urgently to be remedied, because it seems to be growing worse. Wars seem growing more frightful and more gigantic; the more victories the nationality principle wins the nearer we seem to approach a period of energetic popular states waging war upon each other with the unrelieved fierceness of national antipathy. Had ever popular orators a better subject for their speeches? What was Catholic emancipation? what were corn-laws? nay,

what was the slave trade, compared to this? Would it be hard to excite a European movement against a mischief from which no one is safe, which threatens every man's life, and every man's children's lives, and which brings in its train not only death, but a host of other evils, some of them, perhaps, worse than death? Again, there have been in this age great political movements and great religious movements. Countries in which the political consciousness has remained undeveloped often have the religious consciousness in full vigour; and in individuals, too, the one is often to be found where the other is wanting. Now, there is just one question in which politics and religion absolutely merge, and are confounded. Religious feelings and political feelings are equally outraged by war. War tramples on the sense of right and wrong, and on the precepts of Christianity, as mercilessly as it crushes the physical happiness of individuals. And on this matter there are no sectarian divisions among Christians. One sect of Christians may denounce war more energetically than another; some sects may pronounce it justifiable and others unjustifiable for Christians to engage in it; but all alike regard war as an evil, all alike regard it as among the greatest of the future triumphs of the Faith to exterminate war out of the world. In this matter all the great divisions of Christianity have something to boast of. The Greek Church protested vehemently against it, even in the darkest ages; the Latin Church furnished the first example of the federation of Europe and the international court, by which the appeal to arms must be expressed; it was a Protestant sect that first made peace the first of Christian dogmas, it was in the bosom of Protestantism that the great Republic of the West grew up and prospered. If Christianity did in a manner reconcile itself to war, it was mainly for want of a machinery which could ensure peace; had the politicians been able to devise such machinery, religion would long ago have made an end of war within Christendom. In considering, then, the leverage which is at your command, you are to add the engine of religious agitation to that of political, and, besides appealing to the plainest interests of men, may reckon also among your resources the religion and the conscience of humanity. Might you not also enlist in your cause the aggrieved races of Europe? All the grievances of races spring out of war, are perpetuated by it, and would perish with it. In the American Union not only does one State not wage war with another, but no State holds a neighbour State in unjust dependence. There is no Poland in the Union, no Alsace and Lorraine. (Applause.) If any State there feels itself aggrieved the injury came from the whole Federation, and can never be felt so keenly as an injustice. No State can reasonably complain of having to submit to the Federation any more than a township or county resents the superiority of the State. Russia has no right to Poland, yet Russia cannot and will not yield Poland, unless Poland can procure some unlooked-for ally. Europe has many of these chronic and incurable wrongs, and is just now increasing the number of them. (Hear, hear.) They are incidents of the abusive system which nourishes the ambition, and keeps alive the fears of States. They are results of war. In a federated Europe Poland and Russia might lie side by side like Maryland and Virginia, and the old international feud would come to seem an inexplicable and inconceivable feeling. Meanwhile, the prospect of a Federation seems to offer to the Poles a solution of their difficulty. They might cease to claim their old independence—an independence which they forfeited by their own divisions, and which Russia can never grant—and they might become instead the apostles of a Federation of Europe, in the attainment of which, along with all the traces of the old European anarchy, their own sufferings and wrongs would pass away. It is evident, I think, that the forces at command are greater than were ever before invoked to achieve political change. Universal and pressing interest, religious feeling, the hopes of aggrieved races—these are great powers. And is not that which calls itself the Revolution in Europe bound also to promote the cause? Popular principles are nothing, or perhaps worse than nothing, without European principles. The liberty of peoples is nothing without their solidarity. Popular states fight more terrible wars than monarchical or aristocratical ones. It is, therefore, doubly necessary that they should federate themselves. The Republican party says much of its devotion to peace; it is bound, therefore, to do its part towards confirming peace by solid guarantees. Such powers may be found more than a match for the centrifugal forces, the differences of language, of institutions, of economical condition, of religions. All these discrepancies have somewhere been overcome. Prussia has a Protestant region and a Catholic region; different languages are united in Switzerland; different nationalities and even different Governments in Austria-Hungary. The difficulties, in short, are unprecedented only in number and degree; they would certainly be insurmountable if the advantages of union were only moderate. It remains to be seen whether they would be insurmountable to a European public opinion gradually educated to see before it a new federation rising like a majestic temple over the tomb of war, emulating the transatlantic federation in prosperity and unity, but surpassing it far in all the riches of culture, manners, and science, and consecrated with all the traditions and relics of the ancient world. (Loud applause.)

Mr. H. RICHARD, M.P., in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Seeley for the able and interesting lecture which he had delivered, said when the Peace Society received, through the medium of a friend, an intimation that a gentleman so distinguished and so honoured as the Cambridge Professor of History had formed certain views of his own as to the best method of preventing war, and was not unwilling to explain those views to a meeting of members of the Peace Society, the committee gladly responded to the intimation. The vote of thanks did not imply that the meeting entirely approved of all the sentiments to which the professor had given utterance, and indeed it would be hardly respectful to him if they were to undertake to pronounce peremptorily and at once any judgment upon a scheme so able, so novel, and so comprehensive. He thought too, that Professor Seeley had somewhat misapprehended the character, the objects, and the operations of the Peace Society. He seemed to have imagined that it promulgated extreme views as to the intrinsic character of all war, without proposing any means of which practical men could take account for putting an end to the evil. No doubt that some maintained that all war is utterly opposed to the principles and the spirit of Christianity, but that was no reason why they should not unite in endeavouring to find some solution for the question, "Can any better means be found to substitute for it, by which the disputes of nations may be decided?" The Peace Society had in fact for the last fifty years been engaged in laying before the world proposals which they deemed practicable, such as the simultaneous reduction of armaments, appeal to the friendly offices of neutral Sovereigns, or the appointment of a joint commission with an umpirage such as that which has been frequently employed in our dealings with the United States of America. (Applause.)

The Rev. T. BINNEY seconded the resolution, and in doing so said he thought that some people would complain that the Professor's theory did not get rid entirely of physical force, as the Federation was to have the power of levying forces. They would urge that even this did not coincide with the spirit of the New Testament? Professor Seeley had laid before them a plan for a Federation of States, but who is to be the President. (Laughter.) He rather thought some persons would say, "Depend upon it you will never get a Federation until Jesus Christ comes and puts all right by the establishment of His own kingdom, and making Himself President and King for all." (Laughter and applause.)

The resolution was cordially agreed to, and Professor Seeley having thanked the meeting the proceedings terminated.

MR. DARWIN'S NEW THEORY.

The long-expected new work of Mr. Charles Darwin, on "The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex," has just been published by Mr. Murray. In an early notice of the book the *Daily News* thus indicates the nature of that philosopher's latest views relative to the origin or the descent of man:—

"The work may be divided into two parts, though these are intimately related. The one contains an elaborate treatise—full of minute and painstaking observation—on Sexual Selection, which may be considered as supplementary to the theory of Natural Selection; the other consists of an application of the double theory to the question of the origin of man. Let us state in plain words the conclusion at which Mr. Darwin arrives. 'Man is descended from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World.' Mr. Darwin half apologises for having given to his fellow-creatures a pedigree of prodigious length, but 'not of noble quality.' Lady readers of his book, however, will learn with satisfaction that they are not necessarily related to any existing ape or monkey. On the contrary, it is more probable that the ancestors of the Simian stock (for man is supposed to have diverged from the Catarhine or Old World division of the Simiadæ, which bestows upon us all a pedigree extending rather beyond the time of William the Conqueror) were unlike any man or monkey who can now be found in Shoreditch or the Zoological Gardens. Our progenitors, we are told, probably lived in Africa, and were distinguished by that ornament the loss of which received Lord Monboddo's serious attention. The successive steps by which Mr. Darwin reaches this climax can only be briefly and imperfectly summarised here. In the first place, he studies such evidence as is found in the bodily structure of man of his descent from some less highly organised form. He points out the singular presence of rudimentary structures in man which connect the human being with many other animals—one of these consisting of certain physiological indications that Lord Monboddo was not very far wrong, and another being the blunt point on the folded margin of the ear. Then he brings forward the traces of correspondence between the ape and the man; among them being a statement which proves that there is some meaning in the schoolboy references to the time 'when monkeys smoked tobacco.' Wild baboons, we are informed, are fond of beer. When they drink too much they have a headache next morning, and relish the juice of lemons—probably the nearest approach to brandy and soda-water which the African experimentalist could devise. One monkey, after having become intoxicated with brandy, would never touch it again — thus, adds Mr. Darwin, proving himself wiser than many men. But it is in the direction of his mental powers and his moral sense that the important difference exists between man and the brutes. The interval between the highest type of monkey and the lowest type of savage Mr. Darwin admits to be immense—greater, indeed, than that between Shakespeare and a microcephalous idiot; but he maintains that it is a difference not in kind, but in degree. He gives a thousand instances of the intellectual and emotional peculiarities of the lower animals; and affords us, amongst other things, some remarkable details about the characteristics of our kinsman the monkey. In the Zoological Gardens he once saw a baboon which always got in a furious rage when the keeper took out a book and began to read aloud—though whether the baboon objected to the sentiment of the book, or to the pronunciation of the keeper, we are not told. An ape whose acquaintance Mr. Waterhouse was permitted to make, sang excellently, and that gentleman describes, with almost a pathetic fondness, the accurate manner in which the monkey got through its scales, and hit the correct intervals. Then it is a great mistake to suppose that the monkeys do not use tools. The chimpanzee cracks nuts with a stone. The orang is acquainted with the use of the lever. In the wars, the baboons hurl down stones on their enemies, just like the Swiss mountaineers—and, by the way, any one who has lately seen a body of Swiss soldiers, will draw his own conclusions. Another monkey covers himself at night with the leaves of the Pandanus. All this is cheering. We judge of a man by the company he keeps, and sometimes by the condition of his forefathers. We are glad to learn that the lower animals are so kindly, prudent, social, affectionate; and, indeed, after having read various works on the subject by various writers, one almost feels bound to protest against the theory that there is any affinity between the man and the ape—as an injury done to the ape.

"As for his general conclusion on the subject of the Descent of Man, he anticipates that it will be unpleasant to many people, who, however, ought to reflect with pride on the fashion in which man has reached the top of the organic scale. What was it the good Herr Teufelsdröckh said of the ancient savage, 'glaring fiercely from under his fleece of hair?' 'Reader, the Heaven-inspired melodious Singer; loftiest Serene Highness; nay, thy own amber-locked, snow-and-rosebloom Maiden, worthy to glide sylph-like almost on air, whom thou lovest, worshippest as a Divine Presence, which, indeed, symbolically taken, she is—has descended, like thyself, from that same hairmantled, flint-hurling Aboriginal Anthropophagus!' It is needless to say, however, what an advance even the Anthropophagus was on the Catarhine or Old World Simia."

THE IRISH PEACE PRESERVATION ACT.—The provision of the act which enables the widow or children of a murdered man to obtain compensation for his loss from the inhabitants of the district in which the crime was committed, was brought into operation for the first time on Thursday at the Monaghan assizes. Mary M'Mahon, the widow of a man who was killed some months ago, was awarded the sum of 500*l.* as compensation for the loss she had sustained. At the same assizes James M'Keon was found guilty of the wilful murder of his brother.—*Dublin Letter.*

OUR NATIONAL ARMAMENTS.—Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., presided on Thursday night at a meeting at Freemasons' Hall, called by the "Workmen's Peace Association," for the object of opposing "any extension of our military institutions or increase of our national expenditure for warlike purposes," and urging on the Government "the duty of taking the initiative in promoting the establishment of a High Court of Nations for the settlement of international disputes." The chairman expressed his deep sympathy with the object of the meeting. With respect to the question of our armaments, he did not know how much, man for man, our army cost us in contrast to the German army; but no one would say we had the same value for our money as the Germans had for theirs or that we had the same system of promotion for merit. Until we got into a better atmosphere in the world soldiers would be a necessity, but let it be insisted upon that while they were wanted the soldiers should be real soldiers. In the meantime we should not cease our endeavours to find out a better way of settling disputes. Resolutions were adopted in accordance with the object of the meeting, deprecating any increased military expenditure, urging the duty of mutual disarmament, and proposing the establishment of a High Court of Nations. Two amendments were moved, but did not meet with much support. Among the speakers were Sir Wilfred Lawson, M.P., Mr. Pope, Q.C., and Lord Amberley. His lordship supported the proposition for a court of arbitration for nations, but confessed that he could not have supported the other resolutions. He could not agree in the view that England should reduce her armaments, as to do so would most likely lead to war, through leading other nations to take a course which would easily lead to disagreement. There were some few cries of "No, no!" at this enunciation of principles, but a considerable number of the audience cheered the speaker.

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